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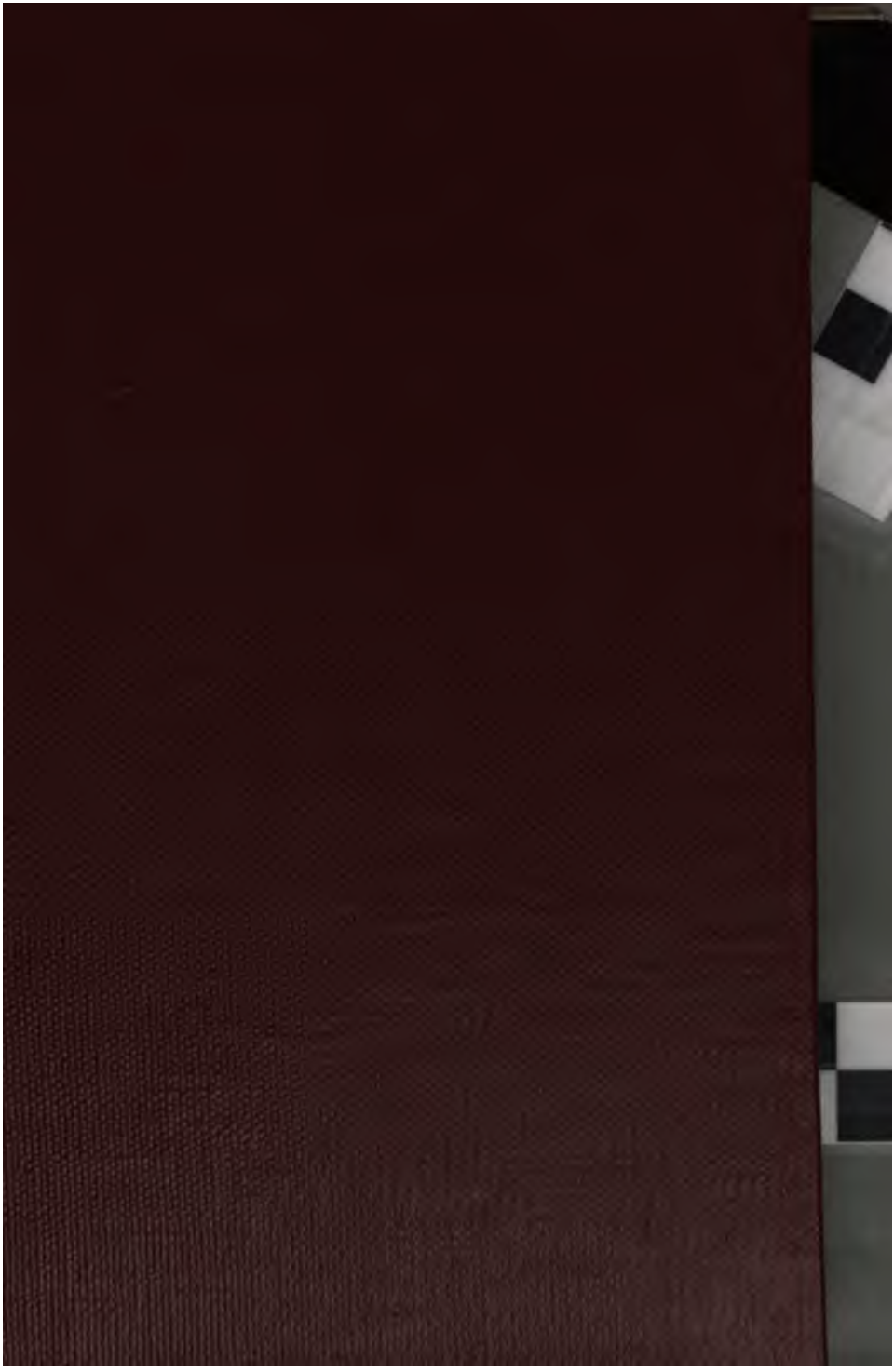
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AUSTRIA

AND

THE AUSTRIANS.

VOL. II.

WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE STRAND.

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AUSTRIA,

&c. &c.

LETTER I.

PRINCE METTERNICH.

THIS extraordinary personage is one of those statesmen whose character and talents are scarcely known in Europe, however much his name has been before the public, and much as he has been personally associated with many of the most important events of the age.

I have had the opportunity to judge of him in his own country, and in his own person. I may speak of him without bias, although I differ from him in my ideas of governing nations, and although I consider the only sound political principles to be those of civil liberty,

grounded on a constitutional government, honestly and fearlessly representing the weal of the people at large, with the franchise of electing those who make the laws, placed upon the broadest footing that the safety of the state will admit; believing, at the same time, that, if the people be only properly and virtuously instructed, a mere money qualification is rather dangerous than safe, as such eligibility may be purchased by the unprincipled licentious rich,* to qualify the ignorant and vicious poor, in order to make them subservient for bad purposes.

The false† education of the people has been, in all periods of history, the cause of nearly all the crimes committed in the world, whether they may have been wicked wars (for all,

* Let it not be understood that wealth implies either want of principle, or licentiousness, for poverty is unfortunately too often linked with vice; the rich, however, are not governed by rectitude of moral principle, but are wicked from the lust of ambition and power; the poor are usually dishonest from idleness or necessity.

† Every human being is educated in some way,—even the savages. The very example of parents, and all circumstances and objects which present themselves to children and to youth, are materials which instruct and form their minds for good or evil.

except defensive wars, are wicked), or religious persecutions, or lastly, the private wrongs of which man is guilty towards any of his fellow-creatures, or against the peace and prosperity of society. Having for the last four years, among other inquiries in which I have been more fully engaged, directed my attention with some care to the state of public instruction in all parts of North and South Germany, and Switzerland, I shall probably hereafter examine the nature and influence of education in the Austrian dominions. My attention was attracted to this subject indirectly a few days ago, after a long interview which I had with Prince Metternich.

Our conversation turned on the easy condition, the tranquillity, the absence of poverty, and the generally affluent condition of the Austrian population. This I readily admitted.

"You have been in Hungary," said the Prince; "there they have a legislation, with a first and second chamber. Does it clothe, feed, or protect the people? Is agriculture in the same improved state? Are manufactures in as thriving a condition as in Austria and Bohemia, both which you have also travelled over?"

I as readily admitted "that Hungary, with the most abundant natural resources, had the most wretched population I knew;* that her agriculture was in a rude state; and, as for manufactures, that they could scarcely be said to exist; and further, that to the legislation of Hungary, all these evils might be attributed."

"I am happy to hear these admissions from you," observed the prince.

"Yes," I replied, "but the legislative constitution of Hungary is not a constitution constructed according to British ideas. It is a legislation which protects the nobility in all their privileges, that frees them from taxation, from liabilities as to the payment of their debts, from arrest, and from all compulsory services. Of the eleven millions of inhabitants, ten millions are in no way protected by that constitution, while they endure all the public burdens, and all the tyranny of their lords."

"I am equally happy," he said, "to hear these opinions from you. Among us in Austria, our policy is to extend all possible *material* happiness to the whole population,—to leave them nothing to desire in that way,—to admi-

* I certainly ought to have excepted Ireland—that "First flower of the earth, first gem of the sea!"

nister the laws patriarchally,—to prevent their tranquillity from being disturbed,—and to maintain the national happiness as it at present exists. Is it not delightful to see those people looking so contented," continued he, turning round to the next window, and pointing to the groups walking on the terrace of the *volksgarten*, immediately before his palace,—"so much in the possession of what makes them comfortable,—so well fed,—so well clad,—so quiet,—and so religiously observant of order? If they are injured in their persons, or in their property, they have immediate and unexpensive redress before our tribunals; and, in that respect, *neither I nor any nobleman in the land has the smallest advantage over a peasant.* Nor have we every small branch of the provincial administrations, as in France, centralized in the capital. The people have their municipal privileges, and they exercise them without our interference. We never, in fact, interfere, except complaints are made to us against the injustice of those in office."

The above were, as nearly as possible his words; and I do not think I ever saw a face in which satisfaction seemed to dwell more evidently, than on that of Prince Metternich

while he spoke. Having some other subjects to discuss, not relative to administrations, I did not state what I considered necessary to ensure the continuance of the material prosperity which the population of Austria undoubtedly enjoy; perhaps, in a greater degree than any other people: further than "that government was certainly the best under which the people were secured the greatest happiness, and in which the laws, if the latter be just, were equally administered; while constitutions, with representative chambers, like those of Hungary and even of France, were merely calculated to enable the rulers to govern with arbitrary power, although I considered the only *permanent* security for good government was to be found in an honestly instructed representative constitution."

He is a remarkably handsome and healthy-looking man. He walks and stands erect. His countenance is open, intellectual, and agreeable, without any formality, and without any fascination in his manner, further than being courteously polite and frank, in a plain, unostentatious well bred way, to all who approach him. He dresses like a well-conditioned, unaffected English gentleman. He talks a good deal, but

I think seldom so as not to interest. He believes that he has not a personal enemy in the world. Nor can he conceive how he should—although I should be sorry to swear that he has not—were it from no other cause than the jealousy which weak minds, and often able ones, entertain towards those who have attained so elevated a position in the world's affairs. I think however that Prince Talleyrand cannot have much affection for Metternich. No one can say, that the latter has not been at all periods of his political life consistent in his principles, and frank in avowing them. The former has also been consistent, that is, equally loyal to every form of government under which he has served; equally faithful to each of the many oaths of allegiance he has sworn. I should not count the Emperor Nicholas, nor Count Pozzo di Borgo, among the personal friends of the Austrian prime minister, of whom the cabinet of St. Petersburg has always been more watchful than of any other statesman in Europe.

Prince Metternich avows, and has always done so, openly before the world, that he considers the absolute form of government the best —that the people ought to have no political

liberty; but, at the same time, that an absolute government should exercise its power paternally, considering its subjects as children, who should be cherished with affection, but who must obey without disputing the authority of the parent. This, in fact, is the present state of Austria; of which Metternich is the *actual* political father, and the Emperor's Austrian and Bohemian subjects, are the prince's cherished and obedient children, as long as they continue to be his.

How delightfully you will say, does this great patriarchal family, of from fifteen to twenty millions, live together, in such blessed harmony! Very true, but we have seen parents who have not cherished—who have had no affection for their offspring; we have observed some children considered the *pets*, and others, as the *black sheep*, of the family; we have, from partiality and injustice on the part of the parents, known a house divided against itself; and we have seen that house fall to the ground. Some parents lose the affection of their children from severity; others, their confidence, from want of judgment. Now if the present emperor (who is *de jure* the political father of his subjects,) had given them *de facto*

another parent in preference to Metternich, such *de facto* parent might not have either the same regard for his political children, nor the same judgment in directing their actions. He might restrict their accustomed means of enjoyment, and command them to tread in unpleasant ways. He might favour one member of this family, and neglect or tyrannize over the other. This would be disagreeable to those long accustomed to paternal affection; it would at once destroy their confidence, and the family would, therefore, in a short time, be probably divided against itself, the eldest against the youngest, that is, the nobility against the people; and the youngest against the eldest, the favoured against the ill-used, and then the once happy household (the empire) would consequently fall to pieces. As there is therefore no security for the continuation of a paternal despotism, we may confidently argue that a government honestly representing the welfare of the whole population through the medium of elective assemblies, is that in which reposes the greatest chance for a people being the best governed, and the least burdened.

As some further elucidation of the Austrian

government may interest you, I will, on a future occasion, send you more explicit details. Meantime you may be entertained by a few sketches of the personage, to whom I have already so far drawn your attention.

The family of Prince Metternich* is said to have risen to distinction during the time of Henry the Holy, the last of the Saxon emperors. They possessed the country from the Moselle to Hundsruck. Lothar was, from 1599 to 1623, archbishop and elector of Treves. The first prince of the house, Francis George Metternich, was born at Coblenz in 1746, and his

* Clemens Wenzeslaus Nepomuk Lothar, Graf, und Seit 1813, Fürst von Metternich-Winneburg, Herzog Portella, Graf von Königswart, Ritter des Goldenen Vliesses und Grand von Spanien erster Classe. Inhaber fast aller höchsten und hohen europäischen Orden; Seiner Oestereichishen Kaiserlich-Königlichen Majestät werklickergeheimer Rath und Kämmerer, Haus-Hof und Staats-Kanzler und conferenz Minister: or, in plain English, Clemens Wenzeslaus Nepomuk Lothario, Earl, and in 1813 Prince Metternich Winneburg, Duke Portella, Earl of Königswart, Knight of the Golden Fleece, and Grandee of Spain, first class, possessor of nearly all the highest and elevated European orders,—his imperial royal majesty's actual privy counsellor, court chamberlain, state chancellor, and cabinet minister, &c., also minister for foreign affairs, and prime minister of the empire, taking precedence of all others in dignity and office.

son, the present prince, was born in the same city, on the 15th of May, 1773. He studied, after a careful preparatory education, at the university of Strasburg; and attended his father at the coronation of the emperor, Leopold II., in 1790, at Frankfort on the Maine.

He is said to have applied himself closely, especially to international law, and to the principles of government, during the two following years, at the university of Mayence; and he was also present at Frankfort, in the year 1792, at the coronation of Francis II. He then assisted his father in his administration, and in order to make himself personally acquainted with countries and courts, travelled over a great part of the continent, and visited England. The disasters carried into the Rhenish countries by the French armies dispossessed his family. In 1794, the young Count Metternich's talents attained for him an important place at the imperial court; and, on the following year, he married Mary Eleonora, daughter of Prince Ernest of Kaunitz-Rittberg, and grand-daughter of the then imperial chancellor. His diplomatic career commenced in 1797-8, when he was sent by the emperor as plenipotentiary to the congress at Radstadt:—when France compelled the

Germanic courts to cede to the former, all their possessions west of the Rhine. By these humiliating conditions Austria lost Belgium. In 1801, Count Metternich was the emperor's minister at the court of Dresden; and, four years after, minister at Berlin. Hostilities between Austria and France having broken out, in consequence of Austria adhering to the coalition between England and Russia, Count Metternich left Berlin on the third coalition of Prussia with Napoleon being ratified. In 1806, after the humiliating, but unavoidable peace of Presburg, which ceded Venice and the Tyrol to Napoleon, Metternich, under the title of Earl of Coblenz, proceeded, as ambassador, to Paris, where, it must be admitted, he had a most difficult part to act with the haughty victorious Napoleon, and with so skilful and impenetrable a foreign minister as M. de Talleyrand. Metternich, however, could not, with any honour to his sovereign or country, prevent the disastrous war which broke out in 1809, between Austria and France. Peace, and Germanic supremacy for the Austrian dominions, and the tranquillity of Europe, were at all times the great objects of his diplomacy. This was not, however, in accordance

with the ambition of Napoleon, nor the spirit of his restless belligerent subjects; and the Austrian ambassador returned in consequence, that year, to Vienna. Soon after, he arranged the preliminaries of that forced peace, which gave Napoleon still greater ascendancy over Austria, and emboldened him not only to demand, but enabled him to insist on, a princess of that house in marriage.

The Russian campaign having proved disastrous to Napoleon, and the Austrian cabinet having at first undertaken a position of mediation, Count Metternich endeavoured to bring about a cessation of arms. There can be no doubt but the matrimonial alliance between Napoleon and the Emperor of Austria, had influenced the latter to preserve the former; but Napoleon continued as haughty as if he had conquered Russia. Prussia having, however, assumed a position more honourable to her nationality and character, after all the degradation and plunder to which Napoleon had subjected her states, in reward, as it were, for her leaving Austria alone to defend Germany for so long a period, joined Russia and England against Napoleon. The most distinguished period of Prince Metternich's diplo-

macy now commenced; first, in arranging the quadruple alliance at Töpliz; and then, after the battle of Leipzig, in following up those measures in which he was personally engaged, with incessant vigilance, at Frankfort, Frieburg, Basel, Langres, Chaumont, at the convention of Fontainebleau, and at the peace of Paris, on the 30th May, 1814.

From Paris, Prince Metternich accompanied the allied sovereigns to England, and the time which he spent there was devoted to observing the state of the United Kingdom, in regard to our social, moral, and material condition; as is very evident from the liberal opinions which he still expresses relative to England; not that his own determined principles of absolute government have been at all changed by the example of our constitutional administrations: but it must be recollected that neither Catholic emancipation nor parliamentary reform, had then withered the Tory ministerial power of that period, when Liverpool, Castlereagh, Melville, and Canning, ruled the country at will.

The famous Congress of Vienna, which opened in October following, was that in which, as president and negotiator, his diplo-

matic abilities were displayed, perhaps, in the most distinguished aspect of his career. To re-annex Belgium and the Rhenish countries to Austria, was a point which he was from the first persuaded of the wisdom of not contending for: but, guided by an awful public and personal responsibility of considering Austrian interests as the first and unchangeable principle of his conduct and duty, he indisputably and frankly maintained this position in every stage of the deliberations and conclusions of this, the most important assemblage of European delegates that ever met together. Had the representative of England possessed the same energy of purpose, the position of the United Kingdom, in regard to the Continent, and in respect to her financial liabilities, might, undoubtedly, have been placed at that period on a basis, not only far more advantageous to our commerce and political influence, but also in a relative condition, that would have also removed many inconveniences and evils which have since occurred, and which may as probably result hereafter, from the provisions of a treaty,—which I feel as far from being prepared to defend, as I should be to advocate the *Jesuitical casuistry* of its violations.

Prince Metternich, now as minister of foreign affairs, stood in a position of greater power than many crowned heads. The descent of Napoleon, which disturbed Europe for a few months, and added enormously to the public debt of England, scarcely affected, although it terrified Austria. The battle of Waterloo followed too suddenly to admit of much aid from Vienna; and Italy alone engaged her active vigilance. Murat fell;—Ferdinand IV. invested Prince Metternich with the dukedom of Portella,—and soon after he signed, in the name of Austria, the second treaty of peace at Paris. The Holy Alliance, the spirit of which, posterity will at all times, translate in a very different manner to its name, was soon after entered into between Austria, Russia, and Prussia.

Twenty years have passed away since the Congress of Vienna. In all the changes which have affected Europe, Austria and Prince Metternich have remained immoveable in the position attained by that treaty. In all matters which have in any way regarded the empire, he has never ceased to act; yet such was the jealousy of Francis in regard to his power, that his minister never directed affairs independently of the emperor; and he followed

the latter, summer and winter, whithersoever he went. Although Francis, to the last hour, could not entertain *the idea*, for it was ideal, that he himself did not monopolize all the affairs of state; and would have dismissed any one* who might exhibit conduct implying any thing contrary to this vanity of governing; yet it never has been remarked that the least want of harmony subsisted between the emperor and his favourite minister. The latter knew well that he exercised actual power, and he was too discreet to be jealous of its shadow. In fact, Prince Metternich, with great skill and prudence, wielded the emperor and his power together, while Francis believed that he himself did not only conceive, but direct all; and that his minister was merely the most faithful and capable of servants, in executing the commands of his sovereign. Metternich was, however, frequently, especially to foreign diplomates, in the habit of saying, "The Emperor of Austria has a firm will. If I had the mis-

* Von Stift, the emperor's body physician, and a man of considerable abilities as a statesman, held a place in the council. He was, from some jealousy, released abruptly from all his functions; — and it is said that Francis dismissed his aide-de-camp, General Apel, for his attentions to the present emperor.

fortune to mistake the path he directs, I should not remain his minister for a day."

In the affairs of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom,—at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818,—at the congress assembled by him in the summer of 1819, at Carlsbad,—at the congress of Vienna, in 1820,—and at Troppau, in the same year,—at Laybach, in 1821,—in suppressing the insurrections of Naples and Piedmont, Prince Metternich may alone be said to have managed all the negotiations and affairs of the empire, and, in many respects, influenced those of all the *absolute* states, of Europe, Russia excepted. On returning from the congress of Laybach, he was elevated by the emperor to the highest office of the empire, that of chancellor, at the same time retaining that of even greater power, minister of foreign affairs.

In October following, on the accession of George IV. to the throne, Prince Metternich visited Hanover to meet that monarch. In October, 1822, he opened the congress of Verona. Soon after, he was created a grandee of Spain, first class; and in September following, he accompanied the emperor to meet Alexander at Ezernowitz.

His first wife's ill-health induced him to

visit Paris with her: but she died, in 1825, aged fifty, leaving him one son, who died three years afterwards, and two daughters, now living. From Paris, he went to Milan, and from thence to the opening of the Hungarian diet. In October 1826, the president of the state conference, Count Zichy-Ferraris, died, and to him succeeded Prince Metternich.

He married, in November 1827, Mary Antoine, Countess of Beilstein. This beautiful and fascinating princess died two years after, aged only twenty-three years, leaving him one son, Prince Richard Clement.

When the revolution of 1830 dethroned Charles X., Prince Metternich determined upon neutrality;—this he also wisely observed in regard to both the Belgian and Greek revolutions. In regard to Greece, however, from the way its emancipation was accomplished, as he declared, chiefly through Russian agency, he was opposed to it, as leading to a war which enabled Russia to dictate to Turkey. In fact, no European statesman has annoyed the court of St. Petersburg so much, or so vexatiously, as Prince Metternich. Count D'Appony was at once accredited minister at the court of Louis-Philippe. In the affairs of Italy, alone, did Metternich maintain the principle of inter-

ference; and afterwards, in respect to Poland, to prevent the insurrection extending to the old section of that kingdom, which the partition gave to Austria, he sent Field-marshal Stutterheim with 50,000 men to the frontiers. Galizia was afterwards subjected to very arbitrary inquisitorial treatment, on pretence of corresponding with the liberal societies of France, while the grounds for severity were at most ideal. In regard to the assistance rendered in men and supplies to the Poles by Galizia, no public or prosecuting notice was taken by Metternich; while the Prussian subjects who assisted the Poles, were afterwards severely punished by their government.

In January, 1831, Prince Metternich married Melania Maria Antonia, Countess of Zichy-Ferraris, born in 1805, and daughter of his predecessor in the office of president of state conference. By her he has two lovely children.

On the death of Francis, it was by many supposed that the present emperor would have dispensed with the services of his father's prime-minister; but the world was soon put out of doubt on this subject, by Ferdinand's letter to the chancellor. I have already alluded to this letter. It was published as soon as dated in the *Beobachter* (Observer), or

government organ. Notwithstanding this, it is insinuated that Ferdinand has not his father's partiality for the prime-minister.

Forty years, the most eventful in history, have elapsed since Prince Metternich appeared officially on the theatre of great affairs. Three emperors of the House of Hapsburg have vanished from the earth since his manhood. Three kings of France, and one French emperor; one of the number by violence, and an emperor and another king of whom, in exile, have also passed away during the same period. Two kings of England,—two emperors of all the Russias,—and many other sovereigns, besides statesmen, including our Pitts, Foxes, Liverpools, Castlereaghs, and Cannings, all of whom were personally known to Prince Metternich, are also mouldering in the dust, and almost forgotten.

The chancellor of Austria still retains the physical and intellectual vigour of manhood. Health, strength, memory, vision, speech, sagacity, and energy, unimpaired. His knowledge of character is remarkable. No man can estimate more acutely the capacity of the living diplomatists and statesmen of Europe and America,—of the Pozzo-di-Borgos, the Talleyrands, the Nesselrodes, and the Wellingtons.

At his weekly *soirées*. the most interesting, because the most instructive in Vienna, his frankness and even his simplicity of manners always please, and generally delight. The beauty and *esprit* of the princess sheds a brilliancy over these entertainments, and she lends equal grace to the prince's dinner-parties. Of the former I have already written you, in giving a slight sketch of society and manners in the Austrian capital.

As a domestic man, the character of Metternich stands high; and I believe he considers it a proof of having been blessed in the married state, to seek happiness in another marriage, after the loss of a wife (however devotedly beloved), as soon as the observance of the ordinary intermission permits.

The late princess is said to have been one of the most beautiful women in Europe. If an exquisite portrait of grace, expression, and loveliness, be a resemblance, she must indeed have been so.

The present princess is only thirty-one, and looks much younger. Her countenance is full of expression and fascination. Her two children, with the son by the late princess, run up to her altogether, as if the three were by the same mother, and she receives them equally

with the same tenderness. In the day time they rush out into the garden, exercise themselves with juvenile spades, wheel-barrows, and various implements; they return back, often clambering over the prince's shoulders, and then bound off to their *mutter*, the princess.

The eldest daughter by the first marriage is wedded to Count Slavnicza; the second, Princess Hermenia, is young and unmarried, and still lives with her father: both are of a delicate cast of beauty, graceful and amiable, with manners somewhat retiring, and perfectly unaffected.

As a diplomatist, Prince Metternich always says that a frank, declared manner, is the most honourable, and the most successful. How few observe this in practice? How few there are, who are not lost by that vanity which is instantly perceived by sagacious and skilful negotiators. The qualifications necessary for an able diplomatist, are neither more nor less than firmness of character, sound judgment, energy, sagacity, and a perfect knowledge of the resources and power of his own, and especially of foreign countries. With these, and a capacity to understand the character of other men, and the *habitude* of agreeable manners,—a frank, not garrulous, but honest mi-

nister, will, in the end, baffle all the cunning and artifice of the ablest disciplinarian of the Machiavelian school.

I have not met any one who has known Prince Metternich personally who did not speak highly of him as a man, however much they may have differed from him in their ideas of public government. I have also found that all those who have made his acquaintance, have in consequence been completely deceived in their previous ideas of this celebrated personage. He has certainly much in his personal character that is kind,* and which, under another form of government, would render him very popular. He is religiously Catholic, but to-

* Anecdotes are often related of Prince Metternich's humane consideration for the obedient people. Among others, on his retiring one night last winter from a ball at Prince Esterhazy's, he observed, from his carriage-window, by the light of the lamps, a man lying in agony in the middle of the street. The prince stopped his carriage, and descending, found the man, a poor labourer, in an apparently dying state. He sent his servant immediately for the nearest doctor, and remained himself by the sick person, while the coachman drove home the princess. On the servant returning with a doctor, he ordered the patient to be taken in a coach to comfortable lodgings, and properly attended. He then walked home. These little humane attentions are very characteristic of the Austrian nobility.

lerant in regard to every other profession of faith; far more so than the Lutheran king of Prussia is in his policy towards his Catholic, and especially Jewish subjects; and infinitely more charitable towards those who worship the Deity in a different form from that of their church, than our evangelicals of England and Ireland are, in their spiritual and worldly bearing towards the protestant dissenters and Jews. The Lutherans of the Imperial States, and the Unitarians of Transylvania, have not the least cause to complain of the chancellor in regard to their faith. In short, Prince Metternich is liberal in, perhaps, every thing except in extending to the people the free privileges of citizenship,—that of having the power of governing themselves by representation; this he will assuredly never, (except it be through "state necessity,") consent to invest them with: and while I condemn the principles of administration which the prime minister of Austria considers the best and wisest, I am as fully bound to admit, that he believes himself conscientiously right, in thinking, that his system extends a greater amount of happiness to the whole population than any other. Admitting it does, where rests the security for its being parental instead of tyrannical?

LETTER II.

GRAF KOLLOWRAT-LIEBSTEINSKY.

THIS statesman ranks next to the chancellor in office; and, in character and ability may be considered among the most distinguished men of the empire. It has been long supposed that a jealousy has been entertained towards him by Prince Metternich, especially since the accession of the present emperor, who is considered more liberal than his father, and who appears to cherish a great partiality for Graf, or Count Kollowrat.

This nobleman is the representative of one of the most distinguished and wealthy Bohemian families. His education was liberal, and his principles have ever since been fixed on a basis of justice and tolerance in religion and in

government. It was even suspected that he formerly belonged to one of the *secret revolutionary societies* of Germany; and that Francis, dreading the liberalism of the wealthy and splendid Kollowrat, appointed him, in 1810, to the office of first authority in Bohemia,—*oberst-burg-graf*, or, lord-lieutenant of the kingdom.

For fifteen years he filled that important post, to the utmost advantage which his power and will could extend over the resources and energies of that country. He certainly revived the nationality of the people; and he has always been opposed to restrictions on commerce and on public opinion. He has consequently been accused of *Josephism*.* The nationality of the provinces, as the great natural tie which linked the people with confidence to the government—public instruction—the manufactures—trade—finances—and the general improvement of the country, were the subjects most earnestly attended to by Count Kollowrat during his administration in Bohemia. It is very probable that he became too popular, and that in consequence he was called by Francis, in 1825, to take high office in Vienna. For

* This epithet alludes to the opinions considered as theoretically entertained by the Emperor Joseph.

ten years he filled the office second only to that of Prince Metternich, and yet it is known that the political ideas of these ministers were at variance, but at the same time under Francis, as both were, at least nominally, subordinate to the emperor, neither came into direct collision with their opposed political ideas.

With, and since the accession of Ferdinand, a change has, however, been manifested. The will of Francis has, it is true, involved difficult questions. On opening this testament, 400,000 florins were bequeathed to re-establish the order of Jesuits throughout the empire. The faithful execution of this will divided the opinions of the imperial family, and of both the chief ministers. Ferdinand was opposed to the reinstatement of the Jesuits; and he was supported by his uncles the Archdukes Charles and John, and especially by Count Kollowrat. The dowager empress, and the Archdukes Maximilian and Ferdinand, and the Prince Metternich, contended that the will should be strictly executed. At length, by appealing to the filial affections and religious feelings of the emperor,—to the solemn dying requests of Francis, and to the dangerous injustice, as a *precedent*, of not executing the late emperor's

will, Ferdinand at last consented, on the 19th of March last, to sign a decree for the faithful performance of all the provisions contained in his father's testament. This, with some other measures relative to commerce and finance, led to the tendered, but not accepted, resignation of Count Kollowrat.

A small book has lately appeared, and extensively circulated in Germany, entitled "Austria in 1835, and the Signs of the Times in Germany." It is more curious from the author, Dr. Gross-Hoffenger, having been, not long since, a fiery writer of the school of "Young Germany," than remarkable for the soundness of its views, or the justice of its remarks. The writer has, as he fully tells us, written it on visiting Austria, and becoming a convert to *passive obedience*. In fact, he may be considered as the speaking organ of *absolutism;* and his account of Count Kollowrat is by no means flattering to that statesman.

"Since the accession of Ferdinand I.," says Hoffinger, "much has been said of cabinet differences between Prince Metternich and Count Kollowrat-Liebsteinsky. But those acquainted with the position of affairs, and with the character of these men, doubted at once

the fact of a serious misunderstanding,—pre-eminently dangerous to the state at the present moment. In the first place, the honourable position of those ministers in relation to their sovereign, and to the constitution of the Austrian states, formed in itself a refutation of expressions only applicable to reptiles who seek their own fortunes in the disorganization of states, and from the embarrassments of courts equally sunk in politics and morals. In the second place, the supposed separation of two ministers united so harmoniously under Francis I., must appear the more improbable, as the necessities of the state, and common interests and objects, as well as their joint patriotism, furnish necessary points of union, even if difference of opinion were to arise.

"Count Kollowrat, descended from one of the richest and most celebrated houses in Bohemia, which has ever been distinguished, in the struggles of that unfortunate people, by loyalty to the sovereign, was born and educated in the period termed in Austria the Josephinian age, because it was marked by the interesting character of that prince,—by his impetuous passions, his noble designs, and his errors. Let Kollowrat read the history of his house—

a house so famous—so distinguished, that legends tell of a bell which used to ring of itself, and a stone from which blood oozed whenever a Kollowrat died,—or the pages of his own youth, in which his noble spirit was directed to the examples of human worth under its various forms, and to those of a progressive age the most congenial to his own character. His wealth and influence nourished a great measure of independence in his opinions, which gave the young lively nobleman a reputation for liberal principles,* scarcely reconcileable in all respects with the stationary ideas of the ruling system of the time.

"His exemplary economy—his patriotic zeal, revived the national life of Bohemia, and gained him all hearts. He succeeded in greatly improving the condition of that kingdom, by giving a fresh impulse to its culture, its civilization, and its public spirit. As a native Bohemian, he possessed the regard and confidence of all, and he soon witnessed the fruits of his enterprizes for the public good, which fully convinced him that tolerance, economy, and

* This hints at the alleged connection, in early life, of Kollowrat with a democratic society.

confidence, were the means by which every thing might be accomplished in countries where the good character of the people affords a voluntary support to all that is excellent. Science, art, free trade, strict financial control, and the maintenance of the nationality and constitution of the provinces, he considered the surest guarantee of permanent tranquillity and progressive improvement. The experience of many years strengthened him in his principles; and although the measures of Kollowrat sufficiently announced his Josephism, yet he has always been a foe to violent proceedings on one hand, and to that vulgar liberalism on the other, which is apt to degenerate into Jacobinism in a country like Austria, where a powerful aristocracy stands in its way. Kollowrat has favoured the latter, not from private interest, but from state-policy, because he regarded the aristocracy as one of the most powerful supports of the Austrian empire; at the same time he did not forget the interests of the middle classes, or the general cause of civilization. Kollowrat's opinions are as far removed from aristocratic absolutism and *obscurantism*, as from the turbulent spirit of the *menders* of the world. His policy is to maintain the *forms* of the state,

—to consolidate the throne and aristocracy,—to exalt the condition of the peasantry,—to advance the prosperity of the country, and freedom of opinion. He represents, by his principles and his measures, *the wishes of the Austrian people, the state of civilization they have attained, and the moral condition of the young generation*, as contrasted with the *law of state necessity*."

There is throughout this cautiously-delineated attempt to describe Count Kollowrat, much that is true and honourable in his character, joined to the idea of his being at the same time allied to the *anti-liberalism* of *state necessity*, and consequently to the entire policy of Prince Metternich.

The changes lately made in the council of *ministry* and *state conference*, which consisted, under Francis, of the emperor as president, of Prince Metternich, Count Kollowrat, Count Bellegarde, and Count Michael Nadasd. Ferdinand never having presided, Prince Metternich, as president, held eminently greater power than Kollowrat; but now they are exactly equal in this high council, as the emperor has appointed two of the archdukes, his uncle Charles and his brother Francis, either of whom presides

in the emperor's absence. It is also hoped that Prince Esterhazy, on his return from England, and Count Lobkowitz, will enter the council of state conference.

In the especial department of Count Kollowrat, he is ex-officio as minister of interior and finance, president of state council for the interior departments and privy reference, in which he is assisted by Count Nadasd, in the finance department, and two other state councillors.*

It would lead me too far at present, to point out to you the advantages and disadvantages likely to arise from the changes made since the accession of Ferdinand; but from Count Kollowrat much good is expected by those who give an opinion on state matters. His character, personally, exclusive of his position as a statesman, is excellent; and although his opinions of governing the nation differ on many points widely from those of Prince Metternich, there are others, especially a more liberal commercial system, on which they are perfectly agreed.

* See sketch of the government and administration hereafter.

LETTER III.

PUBLIC CHARACTERS AND BUREAUCRACY.

Among those who are entitled to well-merited public distinction in this empire, there are, perhaps, none more worthy of esteem than Prince Lobkowitz. He is the representative of one of the oldest Bohemian families, and not yet forty years old. He is chiefly known for his wisdom and humanity as administrator of Galicia, the government of which kingdom was intrusted to him twelve years ago, when the office became vacant, just at the time when the emperor wished to promote the young prince.

In that country he became, however, rather too popular for the ideas of Francis. Being a

Bohemian,* the Galicians regard him with an affection which their nationality has never yet extended to Germans. He, as well as the chamberlain, Prince Lubomirsky, having frequently appeared at fêtes in the Polish costume, Count Sedelnitsky, the minister of police, was directed to reprimand the governor, who was afterwards succeeded by the Archduke Ferdinand; the policy of which appointment can only be justified upon grounds of state policy, which appear not very consistent with the principles of patriarchal administration, inculcated as a general rule at Vienna.

Although the chancellorships, and other departments of government,† must be considered as under the supreme direction of the ministry of state and conference, yet not only those at the head of the several offices, but the subordinates generally, are men who understand well, and perform with the utmost exactitude, the duties intrusted to them. There is, it is true, a tedious *bureaucratic* formality (especially in

* He also felt pride in saying the Lobkowitz are descendants of Popul, and consequently have a right to wear the Polish costume.

† See details of them hereafter.

the council of war), in the details and execution of every thing; yet, as certain it is that the business of every branch of the government is invariably performed with fidelity, according to the long-established regulations, and agreeably to the instructions from the supreme authorities. Count Mitrowsky, as first court chancellor, under Kollowrat, in the united chancery, is one of the most efficient in the interior departments, unless it be the minister of high police and censorship, the Count Sedelnitzky.

The *chancery of court and state*, which includes also the department of foreign affairs, of which Prince Metternich is chancellor and minister, is managed in its several departments by men of appropriate abilities and experience.

Baron Von Ottenfels-Geschwind, state counsellor in this department, was formerly ambassador at Constantinople, where he collected valuable and numerous oriental manuscripts, books, ancient curiosities, &c., which, with his other effects were, on his return, shipped for Trieste, and all most unfortunately lost by shipwreck. To make up in some measure for this disaster, the late emperor presented the baron with a tract of land in a distant province.

Baron Lebzeltern, a highly efficient man of business, ranks next to Von Ottenfels in the bureau of Prince Metternich: but one of the most extraordinary men of his day, considering his subordinate situation (though I should find much difficulty in being persuaded that he was one of the most conscientious), was the late Baron Gentz, of that department.

This man was formerly an ultra-liberal in religion and in politics. He at that time addressed independent exhortations to Frederick William of Prussia, and wrote in the spirit of liberty to all Germany. He was then poor, and he at length discovered that the *cry* for liberty, in a country where all who were rich and in power looked upon innovations with, at least, distrust, was not only ineffectual in regard to the public, but unprofitable to himself. Gentz, like Frederick Schlegel, *changed*, or professed to have changed his religious ideas and his political opinions. He was undoubtedly a man of considerable abilities and great adroitness. He now advocated the cause of the Holy Alliance with as much dexterity and courage, as he formerly had written with fearless candour in the cause of independence.

He then entered the service of Austria in

the office of state chancery, where, it must be admitted, he was eminently useful, and where he remained until his death, when he was succeeded by Dr. Jarcke, also a man of ability, but with a head and heart not so pliantly moulded as that of his predecessor.

In the recent work of Dr. Gross-Hoffinger, the author, who is evidently writing with a view to be employed himself, and who, as evidently bears jealousy or hatred towards Jarcke, gives the following curious sketch of Gentz and his successor:

"Prince Metternich suffered great and perhaps irreparable loss by the death of Baron Gentz. This able, thinking publicist, was the minister's true friend and indispensable adviser. His profound acquirements, and sagacious powers of observation, gave force to the voice of the cabinet. More justice would be done to his memory in Austria, if he had not been a stranger and a proselyte; for his great talents entitled him to universal consideration. He has been misunderstood and misrepresented. I think I cannot better express the opinion of those who knew him well, than by saying that Gentz was a man of *necessity*, and that he recognised this principle as a mistress to whom

every thing must be sacrificed. As a man of strong mind and will, he overcame the prodigious difficulty of compressing, without entirely destroying, his own peculiar thoughts and feelings, within the iron mould of his public character. His strength was ever united to the strength of the machine, forwarding its work like the water of a mill, and perpetually labouring for his adopted system: yet, perhaps, he internally deplored the weaknesses and errors of men, and wept for those he struck. Even his adversaries produce many proofs of his generosity. Gentz showed, in this respect, a reflection of the beauty of the character of his *chief*—unhappily not otherwise complete. Gentz, with a thoroughly systematic mind, was totally ignorant of the nationality of Austrian character; he misinterpreted its qualities; and, high as he stood in European diplomacy, he did not possess the love of the Austrians, who always nourish their national prejudices.

"I have been the more careful in trying my *objective glass* upon his character, as it furnishes me with a standard to judge of the qualities of Dr. Jarcke, who has been placed in the Staats Kanzley since the death of Gentz. * * *

"Gentz was a child of his age, nourished at

her breasts, strong by her strength;—events were his teachers, and experience was his tutor; hence he worked with living organs, and found sympathy. Jarcke is a dogmatist of the middle ages, fed from infancy on old books and judicial dialectics;—a fanatical controversialist in religion;—in politics, the foundation of his creed is the principle, that *kingship is immediately given by God, and that a prince is an agent of the divinity.* Gentz would scarcely have thus expressed himself; he would not have asserted the *immediate* influence of this principle. To advance these maxims is to provoke contradiction; and whoever takes up this ground stands apart from his age. Gentz was practical, Jarcke is a theorician. Gentz defended a state, Jarcke an aphorism. Gentz was an astronomical clock, which showed the time with mathematical precision, while it also exhibited the hands of revolution overrunning the dial, and subverting the order of nature. The timepiece of Jarcke is more than a hundred years behind the age."

Jarcke was, I believe, always a catholic, and formerly editor of the *Berliner Politische Wöchen-blatt,* a politico-religious weekly paper.*

* The emperor of Russia, in June last, conferred the Polish order of St. Stanislaus on Dr. Jarcke, imperial

That men of talent should sell their principles to any government is to be deplored;—that governments should avail themselves of the abilities of highly-gifted men, is far from being a subject of condemnation. The good or bad spirit and practice of governments, alone deserve our praise or our detestation. Wherever ability and talent are necessary for the service of the state, it is an error to believe that those gifts are not bought into practical service as readily by the government of Austria, as by those of Prussia and Russia. That the cabinets of those states should do so proves their judgment, and their determination to employ men capable of performing, with zeal and success, the duties allotted to them. In this way Russia, Austria, Prussia, and the United States of America, have been eminently served. No country can be well served by stupidity and inexperience.

It has been the misfortune of England to have had her affairs so inefficiently managed, that nothing but the industrious and adventurous energies, and moral and physical courage of the people could have hitherto saved us

Austrian counsellor; and also on Herr Peliet, editor of the Austrian Beobachter (Observer). Such is one of the various means by which men are flattered by princes, either into silence or praise.

from ruin and degradation. The old system, however, must not continue to exist in regard to England. It certainly *will not*, unless the Tories return to power; for I have seen more than enough to convince me that the present ministry are alive to the circumstance of how ill the machinery of their predecessors, abroad as well as at home, has been framed to serve the true interests of the country. But it cannot be expected that any ministry, particularly an English ministry, hampered with a thousand conflicting interests, can either mend all the parts at once of an impotent system, or replace it immediately by a new one.

LETTER IV.

AUSTRIAN DIPLOMACY AT FOREIGN COURTS.

The foreign representation of Austria has always, in its individuality, had less than any other, except that of Prussia, the character of drawing-room diplomacy,—*diplomatie des salons.*

Instead of the usually insipid and useless garnishing of untaught secretaries, and exquisite attachés, the court of Vienna has, for a long time, taken care that each of her foreign embassies should form in itself a council, of which the ambassador may be considered the president, assisted by two men of business-experience, well acquainted, not only with the power, resources, policy, and interests of their own country, but with those of other nations.

Of the ministers representing Austria in foreign courts, there is none more honourable or more beloved than Prince Esterhazy. There is a frankness and warm-heartedness in his disposition which is remarkably agreeable. His return to Vienna from London is daily expected, as he may be considered now in England as on a visit of courtesy, to take leave of a country and people, to which and to whom he is ardently attached, rather than as on a diplomatic mission. On his return, it is believed that the emperor will bring him into the supreme council of state conference.

M. Hummelaur, the present first councillor of embassy in London, is a thinking man, of great experience, and extensive knowledge in all that regards the various interests of Europe. Prince Metternich has the utmost confidence in his sagacity and judgment; and M. Hummelaur fully deserves the trust.

The successor of Prince Esterhazy is supposed to be the Prince Alfred Schönburg-Hartenstein, now, and for some time past, minister at the court of Stuttgard. This prince is the second son of the late Otho, prince of Schönburg-Waldenbourg, and brother of the Prince Otho Victor, who, although mediatized

in his sovereignty, still holds extensive lordships in Waldenbourg and Lichtenstein, Glauhau, Penig, Remse, the abbatical lands of Lungwitz, the territories of Oelsnitz and Gauernitz, and the jurisdictions of Tirchheim, Muhlen, Ziegelheim, &c., all in Saxony,—Schwarzenbach and Furbau, in Bavaria, and Dobrischau and Tchernowitz, in Bohemia.

Prince Alfred, whom you will no doubt have as Austrian minister in England, possesses, by arrangement with his brother, the earldom and territory of Lower Hartenstein, the lordship of Stein, and the territory of Schocken, in Saxroyal, with the territories of Idolsburg and Hartenstein, in Austria. So that the new ambassador to England, though far less wealthy than Prince Esterhazy, is an opulent prince. He is about fifty years of age, and unmarried. In religion, a Lutheran; and considered an intelligent statesman.

At Paris, the Austrian cabinet is represented by the Count Apponyi, a Hungarian nobleman of great influence in his own country. He is also assisted by two councillors, although he is himself in every respect qualified to fill the high post intrusted to him. In Paris he lives in princely style; and the balls and soirées of the

Countess Apponyi, a lady of Verona by birth, have been long celebrated for their brilliancy.

Count Fiequelmont, a field officer, has, aided by able assistants, for the last eight years represented Austria at St. Petersburg.

Joseph, Earl of Trauttmansdorff-Weinburg, brother to the late prince of that house, is the Austrian minister at Berlin. He also has a council, the first member of which is Prince Felix Schwartzenberg.

In Turkey, Baron Von Stürmer, a man of well-practised ability, has succeeded Von Ottenfels; and in all the inferior diplomacies, the utmost care is taken by Prince Metternich that confidence is only placed in the hands of those upon whose fidelity and talent he can thoroughly depend.

The representation of Austria at the diet of the Germanic confederation, requiring the utmost vigilance, this post has been long confided to Baron, and for some time past, Count Münch-Bellinghausen. A quiet, but vigorous opposition to Austria and Prussia, having several years ago arisen in the diet, without its tendency being perceived either by the then Austrian minister, Count Buol Schauenstein, or by Count Von Goltz, the representative of

Prussia, the military commissioner-general, Langenau, the confidential friend of Prince Metternich, was the first to warn his master of the oppositional tendency.

The chief director of this opposition was the Wirtemburg minister, Baron Von Wagenheim, aided vigorously by Baron Von Borstett, of Baden.

Austria and Prussia determined, in consequence, to send more efficient representatives to the diet. Count Münch-Bellinghausen, who has remained in that post ever since, is a skilful man of business,—ready, laborious, sagacious, discreet, and especially adapted to preside over a deliberate assembly. Easy, and even elegant in his manners, he never irritates the feelings of those with whom he is associated; yet, when he pleases, no man can be more repulsive or haughty. From the time that Count Münch-Bellinghausen was councillor, and afterwards commandant of Prague, he has enjoyed the favour and confidence of the emperor, and of Prince Metternich. He deserves both. He represents the interests of his country with fidelity. Von Nagler, the then representative of Prussia, may be considered a still more remarkable man. He has been, in

every respect, the artificer of his own fortune. He is a native of Franconia (a country which has produced many gifted persons), with rather a prepossessing exterior, and obliging manner: he was much beloved when no higher in office than an assessor of revenue, at Baireuth. At that time the Prince Von Hardenberg visited Franconia, and took some notice of Nagler, chiefly in admiration of his systematic business habits. The latter followed Hardenberg to Berlin, and became the reporter to, and then the counsellor of the prince, in his office as minister for foreign affairs. The Queen of Prussia also noticed Nagler. On the death of Segebarth, he was advanced to his present important office of postmaster-general of the kingdom. He has always been a favourite with the royal family, and is now in the full confidence of the prince royal. Although his office of postmaster-general required his full attention at Berlin, he was considered the most fit person to represent Prussia at the diet. The trust reposed in him he has faithfully discharged. He is accused, and I believe with truth, of ingratitude to his benefactor, Hardenberg. He is undoubtedly, with some unamiable blemishes, a man of dexterous ability; but he

will never have as many personal friends as Count Münch-Bellinghausen.

The first representative of Prussia at the diet, General Von Schöler, assisted by the military commissioner, and the several efficient adjuncts, have certainly maintained, at least, an equality with Austria; and, considering the ascendancy acquired during the last five years, over the states of the confederation by Prussia, the latter must certainly be considered as having obtained advantages over the former. It has not, however, been in the diet that the court of Berlin has managed to extend her customs cordon over the states of the confederation, but by her diplomatic management and influence; first, in the small states of Hesse Cassel and Darmstadt,—then at Munich, Stuttgard, and Dresden,—then with the numerous small sovereignties of Thuringia,—and finally, with Frankfort, Nassau, and Baden.

It is, therefore, a fallacy to say, that Austrian diplomacy has been less efficient than that of Prussia at the diet, although the former has certainly lost her former influence over north and central Germany.

In all the diplomatic affairs of the empire, whoever may be the men intrusted with its

representation, the principles and policy of Prince Metternich must be considered, generally and in detail, as governing the whole: and after examining, with at least industrious care, the foreign policy of Austria, I feel conscientiously bound to conclude, notwithstanding all Count Pozzo di Borgo may affirm to the contrary, that I have not been able to discover any measure discreditable to the extraordinary man who has, for so long a period, chiefly directed the councils of the imperial cabinet.

LETTER V.

FOREIGN DIPLOMACY AT VIENNA.

How efficiently or how feebly a foreign state is represented at any, and especially a great court, forms a subject of paramount consideration,—not however usually, nor very profoundly regarded by statesmen.

Considering the central position of Vienna, not only as the capital of a great empire, but as regards the relative interests of eastern and western Europe, either in their material, their moral, or their political aspects, it is evident that at no court, not even at that of St. Petersburg, is it more urgently necessary for a great nation to be ably represented.

In regard to England and Austria, a full and frank understanding between the governments

of each on all European, and even Asiatic subjects, must certainly be considered of the utmost importance. Although the forms of their respective governments differ so widely, the political and material interests of each are far more intimately connected than we are generally led to entertain. Not only on the part of the cabinet of Vienna, but in regard to the population, high and low, of the imperial states throughout, there exists a deeply-rooted impression of respect for England, and an especial desire to strengthen still further, by mutual interests, the bonds of friendly alliance.

However well or ill our country may be represented at other courts, there is no state in Europe who has at Vienna a minister of more sagacity, discretion and efficiency, than England has in her ambassador, Sir Frederick Lamb. Of all the diplomatic men with whom I have ever had the honour of being acquainted, Sir Frederick has the gift of more readily perceiving and comprehending the actual affairs of Europe, and every other subject submitted to his consideration. He is equally ready and sound in his discrimination of personal character and personal objects, as he is in observing and judging of the designs of governments. At

the same time, I believe no interest, no power on earth, would induce him to lend his countenance to crafty or dishonourable policy, whatever personal or national advantage might be gained from such ignoble (but hitherto, by many diplomatists, considered a fully justifiable), though jesuitical and Machiavelian, management.

Apart from his official character, Sir Frederick as a gentleman resembles, personally and in manners, his brother Lord Melbourne. In conversation and in society he is remarkably agreeable; and no minister or foreigner is more esteemed at Vienna.

I need not say that Russia is ably represented at this court. The embassy of that empire is indeed efficient. Count Tatischeff, the ambassador, is too well known to Europe as a diplomatist, for me to say any thing further of him, than that he is eminently qualified to fulfil, as far as they can be fulfilled, the instructions of Count Nesselrode, and to communicate to the cabinet of St. Petersburg all that transpires at Vienna, as well as every phase which the aspect of European affairs presents. Prince Gortschakof, the first councillor of the Russian embassy, has been for-

merly in England, and speaks our language, as well as German and French, fluently. Personally, he is a remarkably amiable man; and I must remark, that whatever be the designs of Russia, it is much to be lamented that in our public prints especially, as well as in the speeches of public men, invectives against Russia and her diplomacy should be indulged in so unscrupulously, and so often without foundation.

It is unworthy our dignity as a nation, to *brawl* against another great state. If Russia invades our territories, or attempts to interrupt our commerce in any part of the world, let us at once resist the one and prevent the other. That we have the power there is no doubt,—that we have the right to defend our territories, and to preserve the free accustomed channels of our trade cannot be disputed. These are the real principles of foreign policy, which England has to dispute the attempt at being infringed upon: these are the true interests which that powerful American nation has never unsuccessfully ceased to assert—sprung forth in infancy from the bosom of England, to acquire nourishment in a virgin soil, and now attained the vigour of manhood.

Austria has far more to apprehend from Russian aggression than England; and Prince Metternich assuredly watches all the movements of the cabinet and diplomacy of St. Petersburg with vigilance. He, however, maintains a most pacific understanding with that court, although he does not fail to observe that an alarming influence has been acquired over the Greek population of southern Europe by Russian agency; while M. Boutenieff has, at the same time, been to a great degree successful at Constantinople.

But when Prince Metternich looks again to England, and her power of securing an ascendancy in Greece, and then to the union of English and Austrian interests together, he is far too sagacious to apprehend serious danger to the imperial states from the power of Russia: that is, provided England and Austria understand each other properly, and stand by each other with fidelity, in affairs which concern their common interests.

Count de St. Aulaire, who looks far more like a German philosopher than a French diplomatist, is the ambassador of the Tuileries at this court. He is a grave old gentleman, with a snow-white head; intelligent and well bred,

but not very communicative. He may have found his position somewhat uneasy at this court while Charles X. and his family have been wandering over the Austrian territories; and while many of the chief Carlists of France have been visiting this capital; and, more than all, during the sudden changes in the ministry of Louis-Philippe. Count de St. Aulaire, however, has a temperament moulded for these circumstances. He never will reveal his feelings or his ideas, without calculation. His lady has much of what is termed the *spirituel*, and forms, certainly, a most agreeable accession to the diplomatic circle.

The Prussian minister, Ludwig Mortimer Graf, or Earl Maltzan, is as perfect a representative of Frederick William as he could have found to send to a court,—a vigorous rivalry to which that of Berlin has attained. The Prussian minister is as grave and discreet as his sovereign: he is also a man of business, and without any pretensions, well acquainted with the affairs of Europe. He is a married man, and his lady also graces the diplomatic parties. His chief assistant is Count Bernstorff, son of the late minister for foreign affairs.

Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, Baden, Brunswick, Hesse-Ducal, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and most of the smaller German states have ministers here to represent their interests. Some of the smaller states have only one representative in common. Holland has diligent agents, in the minister Baron Von Mollerus, and in his counsellor Suermondt-Persoons. The Italian states have each a minister at Vienna, but, unless it be the pope's nuncio, Prince Alteri, and Count de Sambuy, the Sardinian minister, they are not, in their diplomatic character, of any importance; for all Italy, from the Alps to Calabria, may be be considered as under the supreme rule of Austria.

Belgium has a minister here, but his voice is seldom heard: and Greece is unrepresented; for Mavrocordato, nominally minister for Vienna and Munich jointly, always lives at the latter court.

Spain has still a diplomatic establishment at this court. Portugal and Brazil have no representatives here at present: nor have the states of South America sent envoys to represent them. The United States of America, have merely a consul-general.

Count Lowenhielm is minister for Sweden,

jointly at Vienna and Munich, having, however, always a chargé at both courts: Baron Lowenstern has been some time at Vienna, as minister from Denmark. The Swiss confederacy have also a representative at Vienna. So has Cracow.

The present Turkish ambassador, Achmed-Feti-Pasha (*ferik*, or general of division), is a remarkably handsome man, although rather inclined to corpulency. He has taken a palace of Prince Esterhazy's, and lives in splendour. He is always attended by his first secretary, or aide-de-camp, Maurogini, and by his dragoman, a little clever German; and, I believe, never accepts invitations, unless accompanied by all the attachés to his embassy. He is treated with great deference by Prince Metternich, and regarded with much respect by the diplomatic corps. What his abilities may be I know not. He has a fine expressive countenance, and eyes that flash oriental fire. He delights in society, and is daily seen driving out in his carriage. I have met him at dinner. He sat on the right of Princess Metternich, while the pope's nuncio sat on the left; so that her highness occupied a position between the representatives of the pope and Mahomet.

He conforms in eating, drinking, and manners, easily and gracefully to our European customs; and has lately given a splendid fête, which will afford materials for at least a week's gossip, and, no doubt, a subject to fill up the despatch of some correspondent of the London newspapers.

LETTER VI.

REMINISCENCES OF THE GREAT CONGRESS.

THE congress in 1814, of which the Prince de Ligne said, "*Le congrès danse et ne marche pas,*" is still drawn upon in Viennese society, as the most abundant source of anecdotic stock.

Among the recollections of the past, it will certainly long continue an epoch to which grandmothers and great-grandmothers will direct the attention of the young, and rely upon for materials, when ordinary subjects of conversation are not forthcoming.

It was the most important, and certainly the most brilliant assemblage that ever met in Europe; but how far its deliberations were marked with justice and wisdom, is a far different consideration, and the experience of

more than twenty years brings us to conclusions quite as much at variance with those entertained at that period.

The Abbé de Pradt, in his celebrated work on the proceedings of this meeting, says, "Enfin l'heure sonne, et des plaisirs, interprètes aussi sincères que gages éclatans des dispositions mutuelles les plus bienveillantes, introduisent gaiement les arbitres des destinées de l'Europe dans le sanctuaire où elles vont êtres decidées.—Le congrès est ouvert."

Pleasures gaily introducing the arbitrators of European destiny to the sanctuary of political deliberation, was no fiction at the congress. But that gaiety, that brilliancy, and those pleasures, were contrived more for political ends, than for the apparent purpose of rendering Vienna, for the time, the most attractive and agreeable capital in Europe.

On this memorable occasion, neither the Emperor Francis, nor his minister, Metternich, allowed the splendour, which the assemblage of crowned heads, and of the most distinguished men in Europe, imparted to Vienna, to dazzle their sagacity, or to pervert their views. There were others, unfortunately for England, whose heads were more liable to giddiness.

The states of Europe were represented in the persons of their sovereigns and ministers, and in those of many of the most celebrated, with a multitude of the most stupid men of rank from all countries.

Balls, masquerades, plays, feasts, a grand tournament, military festivals, and hunting, would seem to have been the business which attracted this multitude to the capital of Austria; and to judge of many persons, among whom Lord Castlereagh was the most prominent, it might be said, "they made no good progress but in the dance." In the mazes of this dance, the representative of England not only handed over Java, as partner, to Holland, but forgot his other solemn duties amidst the gay fascinations and flattering attentions which made his head giddy.

Among the sovereigns, the Emperor Alexander was the prince of monarchs. His conversation was sorcery among the ladies, and his affability and manners were all-subduing with the men. His simplicity, and his dislike to parade, astonished, and held forth an example to all. He seldom rode in a carriage, and walked daily on the ramparts, usually with Prince Eugène Beauharnois, who, were it not

for Alexander, and Max-Joseph of Bavaria, would have been excluded as a *parvenu*. Without holding official dignity, the acknowledged representative of chivalric heroism, was the gallant Sir Sydney Smith. His narratives and anecdotes absolutely turned the heads of ladies, old and young, many of whom still recur to the exploits narrated by the hero of *St. Jean d'Acre*.*

The King of Prussia seldom relaxed from the gravity natural to that prince; and his minister, Von Humboldt, proved, by the success of his diplomacy, how much more necessary it is for princes and governments to intrust their affairs to men to whom nature hath bequeathed the first order of perceptive and thinking intellects,

* Sir Sydney Smith was, in one point of view, also a delegate at the congress. He wished to engage the sovereigns in a sort of crusade against Algiers and Tunis, to crush for ever white slavery in those states; and it would have been but justice to have given the command, afterwards intrusted to Lord Exmouth, to the at least more chivalrous Sir Sydney Smith. Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, also commissioned the gallant admiral to present his declarations relative to his claims. This confidence was in consequence of Sir Sydney having, after the glorious victory of 1791, been invested with the grand cross of the order of the sword of Sweden, he being at that time an officer in the Swedish navy.

than to those who possess by accident, or the gift of kings, the highest orders of blazoned rank. Alexander's minister, Pozzo di Borgo, was another instance of a plebeian exalting himself to the most important confidence, and proved that time and experience have enabled us to judge of results. It is evident to all, that the powers which gained the advantage at this political *sanhedrim*, were those whose work was done by men who understood their business.

Russia gained an enormous addition to her previously monstrous dominions. *Prussia*, considering her position, may, however, be said to have gained more than any other power. Whether this, as many assert, was the design of Russia or not, the accession made by Prussia was the first gradation to the decline of Austrian influence in the affairs of Germany. The loss of the Flemish and Rhenish countries, without any regard to justice, was, however, more than made up to Austria by the more valuable Italian territories immediately adjoining her frontier.

France was now in a humiliated posture; Russia, Prussia, and Austria, were all combined to weaken her power. The Rhine, even after the battle of Leipzig, was offered to Napoleon

as the boundary of France. But, to weaken France, Holland was attempted to be made strong by the addition of Belgium, and Prussia extended to the old French frontiers by the possession of the ci-devant Austrian country west of the Rhine.

France gained nothing at this congress except from Great Britain, who ceded back the French West Indian and some other colonies. The greatest blunder of all was giving up to France the west coast of Newfoundland, to the exclusion of British (not American*) fishermen. Knowing, as we do, the bewildered state of Lord Castlereagh's judgment, and Lord Stew-

* When the American fishing-vessels appeared afterwards on the west coast of Newfoundland, the French commandant ordered them off, saying, "We have, from the British, received the exclusive right of fishing on the west, and extreme north coast of Newfoundland." "That may be, but we will not acknowledge the right of the British to deprive us of the privilege which they had previously secured to us." The United States' government immediately sent two ships of war to the west coast of Newfoundland, where they soon established their fishermen, whom the French have never since attempted to disturb. But the British are not allowed to approach that part (about 300 miles of the coast from Cape Ray west, to Cape John on the north-east), which, before 1815, they called the "fishing-garden of Newfoundland." So much for diplomacy.

art's utter inefficiency, it is almost a matter of surprise that they did not give back Quebec and Louisbourg to the French, who had fully as equitable a right to those possessions as the Dutch had to Java.

The sovereign who gained nothing, but who lost much, was the King of Denmark. He was the third in age, and the most witty of the six monarchs.* There was a general prejudice against him at first:—his lively and agreeable manners removed this personal dislike; but when, on his departure, after Norway was given to Sweden, and without having gained an additional subject, Alexander intending to compliment him, said, "Sire, you take all hearts away with you."—"Hearts, possibly," replied Frederick, "but certainly not one soul."

Of the monarchs present and absent, there were some whose positions were important in regard

* The six sovereigns at the congress were born as follows:—The King of Wirtemberg, born in 1754; Max Joseph of Bavaria, 1756; King of Denmark, in 1768; Emperor of Austria, 1768; King of Prussia, 1770; and Alexander of Russia, 1777. The Kings of Denmark and Prussia only are now living. The last twenty years has made destructive havoc among sovereign heads and statesmen,—three-fourths, at least, of a generation among them are dead!

to the questionable legitimacy of their rank and power. One of these, John Charles Bernadotte, was king by the grace of the people. Four, the sovereigns of Saxony, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Naples, were kings by the grace of Bonaparte. In order to give the utmost power to Prussia, it was resolved by Alexander to annihilate the title of the Saxon king. Talleyrand protested against this injustice, and Metternich was resolutely opposed to it, from its injustice, and from its adding to a growing rival power. On this occasion, it is but justice to Castlereagh to say, that he was so far open to the reasoning of the Austrian and French statesmen, that the more flattering persuasion of Alexander, Pozzo di Borgo, and Nesselrode, was unsuccessful.*

The Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg were princes by descent; and their marriage connexions secured them sufficiently to be now declared kings by the grace of God. As for

* A secret treaty (afterwards discovered during the hundred days, and sent by Napoleon to Alexander) was entered into, to guarantee the sovereignty of Saxony as reduced. It was signed in February 1815, by England, Austria, and France.

Murat, although his ingratitude* to Napoleon and assistance to Austria gave him some claim, yet, as no sovereign blood danced through his veins, and as he had no marriage alliance, except with the family of the powerless King of Elba,† it was tacitly determined that he should give place to legitimate rights.

The nationality of Poland formed one, if not the most intricate, of the questions discussed at this congress. The cause of the Poles had been sympathized with by the world, as the cause of humanity. In the British parliament, the freedom of Poland was urged with force and feeling, especially by Wilberforce, Macintosh, and Whitbread; and Lord Castlereagh was made fully acquainted with public opinion in England. With that nobleman, however, the flattery of Alexander had, unfortunately for

* Early in 1814, he attempted to seduce Prince Eugene Beauharnois, and proposed that he should abandon France, and unite their forces to those of the Austrian general, Bellegarde. The high-minded Eugene, disgusted at the proposal, said, "never would he betray a benefactor." Murat, forgetting his origin and the gratitude due to Napoleon, signed without scruple an armistice with Austria.

† The Prince de Ligne used at the congress, whenever Napoleon was alluded to, to call him Robinson Crusoe.

the Poles, for England, and for Europe, far more influence than the desires of the country whom he *mis*-represented. That he bitterly repented of his folly afterwards I am perfectly convinced, and I only allude to his criminal blunders as a statesman; for, personally, there existed few more amiable men.

The adjustment of the Polish question formed a subject of extremely delicate management on the part of Russia and Austria. On the infamous portioning of that ancient kingdom, it is well known that the emperor of Austria had the section of Poland allotted to his share forced upon, rather than its having been sought by him. Had he not accepted Polish Galicia, Russia would have possessed it, and would have, with more extended territory, advanced much nearer Vienna. When Napoleon raised the archduchy of Warsaw to a state independent of Russia, it formed a separation between the latter and the Austrian dominions, while at the same time, the ancient spirit of Polish nationality, which was in no degree extinguished in Galicia, brightened up with the ardour of hope, in witnessing a partial restoration of Poland by Napoleon.

The heroism of the Poles, who filled the

ranks of the French armies, was fully appreciated by that conqueror; and the heart of the whole nation beat in unison with the temporary independence established at Warsaw. This independence, such as it was, fell with Napoleon; and soon after, Alexander led Europe to believe, that he would re-establish Poland on a far more free and magnificent basis.

When that monarch was in Paris, in April, 1814, he received a letter from the immortal Kosciusko, who had for a long time been living in obscurity at Berville.* Alexander's fair promises, and familiar manners, had fascinated all who approached him; and those who approached him at that time, actually believed the Czar

* The Cossacks, in their course of plunder, came upon the rustic habitation of Kosciusko. The horde brandished their spears over the veteran's head, and persisted in plundering his cottage, when he endeavoured to convince them of the injustice and barbarity of their unmilitary conduct. Finding his remonstrances ineffectual, he bared his bosom, showed his wounds, and exclaimed, "soldiers, respect the asylum of a soldier, or dishonour your profession!"—"Who art thou," demanded the Cossack leader, "who speak our tongue, and dare thus address us?"—"I am Kosciusko!" The leader and his followers fell at his feet, and craved forgiveness. Platoff, on hearing this, ordered a guard of honour to be stationed at the humble residence of the Polish patriot.

of all the Russias the most liberal man in Europe. It was much in this spirit that Kosciusko addressed him:—"Sire," wrote the Polish hero, "if from my obscure retreat I may dare to address my prayers to a great monarch, a great captain, and above all, a protector of humanity, it is because your generosity and magnanimity are well known to me. I demand, therefore, of your majesty three acts of grace; the first, to accord a general amnesty to all Poles without exception, and that the peasants dispersed in foreign lands shall be considered free when they return to their native hearths; the second, that your majesty will proclaim yourself king of Poland, with a liberal constitution, approaching that of England; that public schools for instructing the peasantry be established and maintained at the expense of the government,—that servitude be entirely abolished in ten years, at which period every peasant is to possess the land which they actually cultivate.

"If my prayers are granted, I will immediately repair, though in ill health, and present myself at the feet of your majesty, to be the first to render you homage as the sovereign of my country.

"My third prayer, Sire, although individual,

greatly interests my heart and my sensibility. I have, for fourteen years, inhabited the house of my respectable friend Zeltner,* a Swiss by nation, and formerly ambassador of his country in France. I owe him a thousand obligations; but we are both poor, and he has a numerous family. I claim for him an honourable place, either under the new French government, or in Poland. His capacity is great, and I will answer for his fidelity under every circumstance."

How excellent the heart,—how noble the patriot that could, in the integrity of both, dictate such a letter. Alexander did not reply to it until the 3d of May following, the anniversary of the day on which, in 1791, the Poles momentarily established the celebrated consti-

* Alexander does not appear to have done any thing for Zeltner; and when Kosciusko visited Vienna to meet Alexander, in order to advocate the cause of Poland, the latter had left. Kosciusko, however, met the emperor at Branau, where the latter gave the most ample assurances to the former. Kosciusko went on to Vienna, but retired with his old friend Zeltner, to Soleure, where he died on the 15th of October, 1817. The last honours were paid to his remains on the 31st of the same month, in the church of St. Roch, Paris, all celebrated men of the French capital attending his funeral.

tution of that year. This was political coquetry, in replying to the veteran of Poland on that day. His object was to gain the heart of Kosciusko more effectually.—

"I experience great satisfaction, general," said Alexander, "in replying to your letter. Your most ardent wishes will be accomplished. With the aid of the Almighty God, I hope to realize the regeneration of the brave and respectable nation to which you appertain. I have taken the solemn engagement to do so; and at all times her wellbeing has occupied my thoughts.

"Political circumstances alone have prevented the execution of my designs. Those obstacles no longer exist. Two years of terrible but glorious warfare have destroyed them. In a little time, with wise measures, the Poles will recover their country and their name; and I shall have the enjoyment to convince them, that, forgetting the past, he whom they believed their enemy, will realize their utmost wishes. How satisfactory will it be for me, general, to have you for my aid in these salutary labours! Your name, your character, your talents, shall be my best sup-

ports.—Receive, general, the assurance of my esteem.

"ALEXANDER."

What a delightful letter, if he who wrote were sincere in his expressions! How was it possible to doubt Alexander? all considered him the most noble and liberal of monarchs. It was in this spirit that all, except, I believe, the sagacious Metternich, and the timorous Francis, viewed the Czar at the congress of Vienna.

The nationality of Poland, confined in its restitution to about four millions of inhabitants, must, as Prince Metternich well knew, animate the remaining millions of Poles in Galicia, and the partitions given to Prussia, and retained by Russia, with the general spirit of re-asserting their liberty. Yet that statesman saw, on the other hand, that it was much safer to raise up the Poles between Austria and Russia, than to allow the frontiers of the latter to join those of the former. Metternich would have also opposed the incorporation of Posen and Bromberg, as much as Alexander indirectly did, with Prussia, but the former did not consider it wise to contend the point. A consti-

tution was at length accorded by the treaty to a portion of Poland as a kingdom, and to the district of Cracow as a *national republic*.* It would have been far wiser, as events have since proved, to have added Cracow to the kingdom.

There is no doubt, from the facts that afterwards transpired, that the secret ambition of Alexander was to have put himself not only at the head of the whole Sclavonic population of Russia, and all ancient Poland, including the partitions given to Prussia and Austria, but also of the Sclavonian population of Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, and of the south-eastern territories of Austria, bordering upon Turkey. In fact, to have crushed the magnitude of Austria, in respect to territory and population, as a first-rate power in Europe; while Prussia, with the same design, as well as in compensation for Posen and Bromberg, was to be extended and elevated by having the whole of Saxony, and a much greater extent of the small German states than was finally given her by the treaty of Vienna.

The appearance of the Duke of Wellington,

* The alleged reason for creating this republic was that none of the three powers would consent to the other becoming possessed of Cracow.

however, at Vienna,—the firmness of Metternich,—the address of Talleyrand,—and the danger of advancing so ambitious a design, prevented its being openly declared by Alexander as he premeditated, soon after his departure from Vienna, where he left his faithful agents to attend to the interests of his empire, and to further his personal views. No man was served with more fidelity. As for himself, time, and the congress of Carlsbad, have proved that all his fascinating promises were merely temporary opiates, to assuage momentarily the anguish of a despotic malady. It is fully evident that he never intended nationality and constitutional liberty for Poland, independently of Russia, notwithstanding his promise to Kosciusko, and also to the numerous Polish families of distinction assembled at Vienna, and who at that time formed the most delightful accession to the congregated society.

The territorial *status quo* of Europe, as definitively arranged amidst all the dancing, carousals, fêtes, intrigues, ambitious designs, and jealousies, which formed the accompaniments of this festival of monarchs, politicians, courtiers, and pleasure and curiosity seekers, might certainly have been far more justly

defined, had the rights of individuals, and the national feelings of populations, instead of the power or weakness of princes, been the rule for distributing territories and human beings.

Sweden was greatly weakened to add European territory to Russia, but left stronger by the admitted annexation of Norway. Denmark was confined within her most narrow limits. All Belgium was forced into an unwilling junction with Holland. Had the provinces only, in which the inhabitants spoke Flemish, been added, the revolution of Brussels would not likely have occurred. It would perhaps also at the same time, have been politic to have added the portion of Belgium, in which the people spoke the French language, to France; and to have restored all the German territory between the Vosges and the Rhine to Germany. But the wishes of the people should have, in all cases, been consulted.

That Austria should have compensation for her western territories was but just; but whether that justice should be done by annexing to the empire nearly the whole of northern Italy, is a far different question.

The spirit of the treaty of Vienna, plainly indicates as a basis for the several states of

Europe, a representative constitutional form of government. How far the Holy Alliance, and the determinations entered into at the congress of Carlsbad, have contrived to evade this principle, is too well known to all who are in any way acquainted with the present state of Germany.

While Metternich, Talleyrand, the representatives of Alexander, Castlereagh, and other representatives of greater or smaller states, were contending, some feebly, some with vigorous address, for respective interests, gaiety and pleasure shed brilliant allurements over Vienna.

The Prince de Ligne said more than once during the carousals, "All varieties of entertainments have been given, to delight and honour our illustrious visiters;—to relieve the monotony of delight, it is only necessary to have the pomp of a field-marshal's funeral."* The

* Sir Sydney Smith, who was intimate with the prince, has since told me more than once, that the good-humoured manner in which the Prince de Ligne used to repeat the above saying before his death was so remarkable, that all considered him speaking in jest: but the prince himself had a presentiment that the hour of his departure was near at hand, and during his last few days, he said, "Nature has courteously ordered that we must, after a

prince's own obsequies soon after supplied this pompous ceremony; but the ball and the carousal continued uninterrupted,—the winter and the carnival came on.

Among the most brilliant parties were those of the Princess Bragration. Here were to be found, besides the sovereigns, foreigners, and first Viennese families generally, the Emperor Alexander, and his numerous suite of princes, generals, statesmen, and chamberlains; the Czartoriskys, the Lubomirskis, Novossilsoffs, the Nesselrodes, the Courlands, Schemeratoffs, Kinskys, the Wollonskys, Potockis, Sapieghis, Kasloffskys, Suwarroffs, Woinas, the Oldenbergs, and countless Poles.

At the residence of Princess Bragration, sovereigns were seen engaged in drawing lotteries for costly articles, as presents to ladies, or trifling in amusements such as entertained children in the days of Louis XIV. At the same time, Capo D'Istria and Prince Ipsilanti were animated in *tête-à-tête* conversations, to assert the independence of Greece. In this way also did Alexander continue to sow some of

time, give up the place we occupy in this scene, to make room for those who are about to enter. To part from those we love is, however, a painful a—difficult struggle."

the seed, that afterwards grew up to trouble Turkey.

The evening parties of the Countess Fuchs collected generally those whose delight was chiefly the pleasure of animated conversation.

The Princess Helena's breakfasts were the most celebrated,—the Countess Zichy's parties the most piquant,—especially when it was determined to make Lord S—— the subject of delusions, which he had not the acuteness to perceive.

At the masked balls given at the *Apollo Saal*, the sovereigns enjoyed themselves supremely. Under the shade of *incognito*, they traversed from the ball-rooms to the groups engaged in the scrutiny of masks, and to the billiard-rooms; and although soon discovered, they preserved the glorious privilege of being freed from the annoyance of ceremony.

As a relief from the gaiety of the previous evening, those illustrious personages might, perhaps, be seen next day descending to the *mehl-grub* of the Capucins, to contemplate the tombs of the house of Hapsburg. Soon after, they might be found sauntering in the museums, or in Saxe-Teschen's picture-gallery, or as probably lounging at the shops.

Prince Talleyrand gave splendid dinners, and he hesitated not to say that he had long considered Napoleon as "*hors de l'humanité.*" His niece, the Princess de Perigord (Duchess de Dino), did the honours to admiration. Pozzo di Borgo and the Duke de Richelieu, usually dined at Talleyrand's, with whom was associated, as delegates to the congress, the Duke Dalberg, and Count de Noailles.

Talleyrand, however, so far opposed the views of Alexander, that the latter never forgave him; and it is well known, that so anxious was the Emperor of Russia to remove Talleyrand from the councils of Louis XVIII., that it was secretly proposed to forego four millions sterling of the indemnity claimed by Russia, if Talleyrand were supplanted by the appointment of Richelieu, Alexander's long-tried and faithful servant. Lord and Lady Castlereagh were not less munificent in their dinner and evening parties; and no man made himself personally more agreeable at Vienna. Her ladyship assumed a character of supreme costliness in her dress and entertainments; and her appearing at the grand tournament, wearing, by way of diadem in her head-dress, her husband's order of the garter, set in rich

brilliants, seemed a conceit to rival the splendid hussar uniform,* in which appeared at the same time the late Prince Nicholas Esterhazy.

The Duke of Wellington, while he remained, was one of the least ostentatious men at the congress. He associated with the grandees of all nations, and might be seen with emperors, princes, and ambassadors, as an unconcerned spectator.

At length the congress broke up; Napoleon again alarmed the peace of Europe, and all flew off as fast as postilions and horses could drive and drag them, from Vienna, where recollections of the *great congress* are as vividly fresh, as if all the sovereigns, politicians, and *élite* of Europe, had only a *few* months ago animated the capital of the Austrian empire.

* Valued at four millions of florins, or £400,000 sterling, and richly worked with pearls and precious stones.

LETTER VII.

THE LIECHTENSTEIN FAMILY.

You ask me for personal sketches, but the great families of this empire are too numerous to say much of them, further than to illustrate the state of manners and society. Except it be the family of Esterhazy,* of whom I have the honour of knowing far more, the Liechtensteins rank the first at Vienna. His palace in the city is also the most magnificent, but it has been for some years occupied by the Russian Ambassador M. Taticheff. The prince, however, who is far advanced in age, being seventy-

* The sister of Prince Liechtenstein is the dowager Princess Esterhazy, and mother of the present Prince Esterhazy. The great families of the empire almost invariably marry in no rank the least beneath their own.

seven, and also the father of, I think, eleven children all living, is about to resume his residence in his principal palace; and M. Taticheff, at present absent at St. Petersburg, is to occupy another palace of Prince Liechenstein, in the Herren-gasse.

This family, the head of which, until very lately, possessed the sovereignty of Liechtenstein, purchased last year by Prussia, hold vast landed possessions, and have been long remarkable for the sumptuous style in which their establishment has been maintained. They do not at present seem to display that magnificence, but the great age of the prince may be the cause.

Dr. Moore observes, during his visit, "I returned very lately from Prince Liechtenstein's house at Felberg, in Austria. This prince, besides his lands in Austria, has considerable estates in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. Like Prince Esterhazy, he has body guards of his own. Feldberg is a fine old mansion, forty miles from Vienna. The apartments are large, convenient, and furnished in the magnificent style which prevails in the noblemen's houses of this country. The company consisted of the prince and princess, the Count

Degenfeldt and his lady, a very accomplished woman; the Duke of Hamilton, M. Milnes, another English gentlemen, and myself. Our entertainment was in every respect splendid, particularly in the article of attendants. Some of the Austrian nobility carry this point of magnificence to a height which would scarcely be supported in England, where one footman is more expensive than four in this country.

The day after our arrival, breakfast was served up to the company separately in their own apartments, as is the custom here. We afterwards set out for another villa of the prince, at six miles distance, where he intended to give the duke the amusement of hunting. The princess, the countess, the duke and Mr. Milnes, were in one coach, the prince, the count, and I, in another; the two princes, with their governor, and the young English gentleman, in a third, with a great retinue on horseback.

As the day was well advanced when we arrived, I imagined the hunting would begin immediately: but every thing is done with method and good order in this country, and it was judged proper to dine first. This, in due time being concluded, I thought the men would have proceeded directly to the scene of

action, leaving the ladies till their return. But here I found myself again mistaken: the ladies were to assist in the whole of this expedition. But as there was a necessity to traverse a large wood into which coaches could not enter, vehicles of a commodious description were prepared. I forget what names are given to these carriages. They are of the form of benches, with stuffed seats, upon which six or eight people may place themselves, one behind the other. They are drawn by four horses, and slide over the ground like a sledge, passing along paths and trackless ways over which no wheel carriage could be driven.

After being conveyed in this manner across the wood and a considerable way beyond it, we came to a large, open field, in which there were several little circular enclosures of trees and underwood at wide intervals from each other. This hunting had hitherto been attended with very little fatigue; for we had been carried the whole way in coaches, or in sledges, which are still easier than any coach. In short, we had been perfectly passive since breakfast, except during the time of dinner.

When we arrived at this large plain, I was informed that the hunting would commence

within a very short time. I then expected we should have some very violent exercise after so much inactivity, and began to fear that the ladies might be over-fatigued, when, lo! the prince's servants began to arrange some portable chairs at a small distance from one of the thickets above mentioned.

The princess, countess, and the rest of the company took their places; and when every body was seated, they assured me that the hunting was just going to begin.

I own my curiosity was now excited to a very considerable degree, and I was filled with impatience to see the issue of a hunting which had been conducted in a style so different from any idea I had of that diversion. While I sat lost in conjecture, I perceived at a great distance, a long line of people moving towards a little wood, near which the company were seated. As they walked along they gradually formed the segment of a circle, whose centre was this wood. I understood that these were peasants, with their wives and children, who, walking forward in this manner, rouse the game, which naturally take shelter in the thicket of trees and bushes. As soon as this happened, the peasants rushed in at the side

opposite to that where our company had taken post, beat out the game, and then the massacre began.

Each person was provided with a fusil, and many more were at hand loaded for immediate use. The servants were employed charging them as fast as the pieces were fired off; so that an uninterrupted shooting was kept up as long as the game continued flying or running out of the wood. The prince hardly ever missed, and killed above thirty partridges, a few pheasants, and three hares.

At the beginning of the scene, a servant handed a fusil to the princess, who with great coolness, and without rising from her seat, took aim at a partridge, which immediately fell to the ground. With the same ease she killed ten or twelve partridges and pheasants at about double the number of shot. The company afterwards walked to other enclosures of planting, where some game was driven out and killed as before.

The following day, the prince conducted us to another of his seats, where there is a very fine open wood full of deer of every kind; some of them the largest I ever saw. There is also a great number of wild boars, one of

which, by the prince's permission, the Duke of Hamilton killed.

Nothing could surpass the politeness and magnificence with which the company was entertained during the whole of their stay. The princess is a woman of an amiable character and a good understanding; educates her children and manages her affairs with the utmost prudence and propriety.

So slowly do national manners change, that immediately after the middle of September you may still witness hunting exactly in the same way at Feeberg and many other of the country seats of the chief nobility. Bolder hunting, in which ladies take but little part, is however not uncommon, although the unfatiguing sport described, which was no doubt planned by the hardy Germans in their practical respect for the ladies, is still prevalent. I have lately been very much amused with various descriptions of hunting and coursing, related by Prince Trauttmunsdorff, who is one of the principal amateurs of this country in field sports. If you ever visit the imperial dominions, a respectable introduction will always ensure you, during the season, hospitality and sport at the country seats of the nobility; and

in no part will you receive "highland welcome," in regard to your stay, more heartily than in Hungary.

In fact, the *chase* in the Austrian dominions, would form an excellent subject for a book; and it is almost a matter of regret that Charles the Tenth, who has spent half his life in shooting, not his enemies, but pheasants, partridges, woodcocks, hares, deer, and wild boars, should have left the world without writing his experience as a sportsman.

LETTER VIII.

Excursion from Pesth to Croatia, and through Hungary to Oedenburg.

In a former letter I have alluded to our having returned from Pesth to Vienna by land, in order to form some acquaintance with the interior of Hungary, not within the beaten route of travellers. Instead of hiring regular post horses, especially as we had left our carriage at Vienna, we engaged an honest Hungarian, who spoke a little German, and his two sleek black Hungarian horses, with a small strong calashe, at so much per day, while we should require him. He even agreed that if we chose, when his horses became so fatigued as not to proceed as rapidly as we thought proper, that we might hire *Bauer* post-horses; that is, post-horses

supplied from distance to distance by the peasants, and that he would follow us with his own horses as soon as they were refreshed to where we might put up at night, to proceed with us next day, or if he did not overtake us, to Vienna, in order to bring back his carriage, and receive the amount we agreed to allow him. This arrangemant turned out very conveniently.

Notwithstanding the generally unimproved state of the country, and the bad roads, I do not know any part of continental Europe, unless it be occasionally in Italy, where the obstacles of mere travelling are got more rapidly over than in Hungary. For the first fifty, we travelled at the rate of eight English miles an hour, without halting except when I stopped to have some talk, through our driver as dragoman, with the shepherds, and once to bait the same horses at Stuhlweissenberg. As to accommodations on the roads, especially as to inns and beds, we found them in as rude a condition as if the people had never seen or expected travellers. In fact, except those of their own country, and I may say, that on the road we travelled, they very seldom do, we were, perhaps, the first British subjects they had ever beheld, and I believe we might have freely lived

on the hospitality of the people over the whole circuitous and extensive route from Pesth east of the *Bakonyer wald*, a wooded mountainous country, resembling the black forest, and of the Platten See, a magnificent lake, until we reached the Drau or Drave, where that romantic river divides Hungary from Croatia,—and until we reached Warasdin, the second town of the latter country, where we found tolerable accommodation, but where, however, the *makeshift* appeared to have been the only system ever known.

From Warasdin we engaged the *Bauer Post*, and travelled rapidly north, except when I wished to stop in order to examine some diversity in agriculture or in pasturage, until we arrived at Oedenburg, close to the New Siedlersee. The natural fertility and beauty,—the mountain and sylvan scenery,—the lakes,—the rivers, of the extensive region that we traversed, would render it one of the most valuable as well as the most delightful in Europe, were its vast resources only properly developed by the ingenuity and industry of man. Even now, under the most slovenly cultivation, corn, green vegetables, flax, hemp, tobacco, wine, honey, wax, madder, various fruits, are yielded in

tolerable abundance; so might also olive oil, for in the southern parts of the country the olive would thrive with very little care. The mulberry is particularly adapted to the soil and climate, and its cultivation and the rearing of silkworms are attended to with success in a few places, by some Saxon inhabitants. Then the mineral wealth,—the mines of Schemnitz and Kremnitz,—the salt mines and salt lakes,—the valuable forests of timber, and the eminent advantages of water navigation which the extensive distribution of rivers, spread in all directions over the interior, and which might be generally unlocked by very short cuts of canalization.

When we travelled over Hungary it was during a delightful season; although I have so long delayed sending you, as I now do, a bare sketch of one of the most interesting excursions that I have ever made. You, who are accustomed, when absent during summer or autumn from London, to all luxurious comforts and conveniences at your immediate command, would, however, not have considered our wanderings so agreeable. I am much mistaken, if you would not have been wofully out of patience while waiting an hour or two for a simple meal,

and as little satisfied in being obliged to sleep all night in your carriage, on arriving at places where you were by no possibility expected to be seen. The best in the village would certainly be at your service; at the same time you would rather decline beds, the cleanliness of which you were not convinced of. This happened to us more than once. But I was more entertained than otherwise, as it gave me an opportunity of knowing more of the country and of the people, and of exhibiting to me how little advantage all the rich benefits of nature are unless brought into use by the enterprise, intelligence, and labour of man. I could not help comparing the comfortless accommodations, the wretched state of the roads, the want of conveniences in this, perhaps the richest country in Europe, and the condition of Holland, in every province of which I have never failed to find excellent lodgings, and the luxuries of the table,—although all Holland was naturally composed of turf bogs and sandbanks, without a tree to build a ship, a stone to build a house, or a single mineral with which to make the most common implement.

It was our our intention at first to have crossed the Rekau-Giberge ridge of the Car-

pathians, at the foot of which we passed to Agram and Karlstadt, and thence through Illyria to Laybach, and by Grätz through Illyria to Vienna, but further interest in Hungary led me to prefer the route by Tschakathurm, Körmend, Stein-a-manger, and Oedenburg.

In this wild route we might it was told us, be stopped by some of the daring detached bandits of Schubri, but as we carried little money, and nothing else of much value, we entertained no fear of being robbed.

I have, in a former letter, given you a sketch of the Hungarian serfs: there is one circumstance which alleviates many evils attached to their condition; that is, whatever be their means, I have not been able during this very lengthy journey, to discover them in actual want of such food as is necessary for them to subsist upon, or, however rude their clothing, I have not met with them, as I have so generally the Irish cotters, destitute of sufficient covering. They are ignorant and superstitiously religious; but, until their condition is changed, and until their minds are enlightened with sufficient knowledge to enable them to think more rationally, I should grieve to think

them destitute of the spirit of devotion, however delusive, which affords them the consolation of present confidence and the hope of future reward.

The Hungarians, both those of Magyar and Sclavonian race are naturally formed for as much usefulness as any uncultivated people I have any where travelled among. The Sclavonians of Croatia make excellent soldiers: as cavalry troops they are perhaps the best in the empire. It is insinuated, that being of the Greek church, they are influenced by their priests in favour of Russia, and to cherish a hatred to Austria. I doubt this much. I have found the priests, both Catholic and Greek, although both are ignorant, in every parish acting truly as pastors to their flocks; and I advise all who travel in Hungary, Croatia, and the military frontiers, to appeal in all cases of difficulty to the priests: indeed, where inns are not, go to the curate's house, and you will share the best accommodation and nourishment it contains, or that can be had.

Having travelled on routes very different from those, and extended my journeys much farther than I had intended on entering Hungary, I was unfortunately but slenderly provided

with letters of introduction, otherwise I might have said a great deal more than I have in my previous sketch of the Hungarians, of the baronial lords, who dwelt in several castles, near which we passed, on our excursion south to Croatia and north to Oedenburg.

On coming occasionally in contact with them, a desire to oblige, and a spirit of hospitality, was fully and at all times evinced, although we knew them not, and although we were strangers passing over a country that we might never see again. In many respects, the aristocracy of Hungary who are not rich enough to live either in Pesth, Presburg, or Vienna, reminded me of the open-hearted hospitality which prevailed in the houses of the highland gentry not later than twenty-five years ago, and which I have experienced within the last twelve years in the south and west of Ireland. With the same feelings of gratitude for kindness received at the hands of all the Hungarians with whom I have had any communication, must I preserve the pleasing recollections of their disinterested hospitality. In fact, hospitality, the chase, and horsemanship, are the chief characteristics of the country aristocracy of Hungary.

In Hungary we frequently met with gipsy families, wandering about, or squatted under low rude tents, which were sometimes covered with cloth, sometimes with skins, and sometimes with sods. They looked exactly like those we meet in England. In the Austrian dominions they are numerous, especially in Bohemia, Transylvania, and Hungary.

My friend, Colonel Harriot, of the Bengal service has, in my opinion, fully proven by the analogy of language, and by the evidence he translates from Eastern writers, the oriental origin of the Romnichal, or tribe miscalled Gipsy and Bohemian. See his memoir, in "Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland." In Hungary they are called Tzygani, and Pharaoh Nepek, or Pharaoh's people. The English name gipsy is from the vulgar error that they are of Egyptian race. They call themselves *Romnichal;* the translation of which from their own language, is equivalent to wanderers. They were first brought in great numbers, as Colonel Harriot clearly shows, by the statements made to him by the celebrated Fateh Ali-Khan, of Tehran, about the year A. D. 350, by the Emperor Bahram Gor. Colonel Harriot also translates

from the Persian of Firdousi, a remarkable passage, stating the reason which induced Bahram to bring the Luri, as they are called in Persia, from India. The reason given is, that the poor of Persia drank their wine without music; and that he consequently sent for four thousand Luri from India, to perform music for the poor while they drank wine. They afterwards wandered west, and spread over Europe. Joseph II. had planned their civilization within his empire.

If industry, thrift and intelligence, can therefore make the most barren country rich, and fill it with all varieties of comforts and luxuries, what ought the condition of so fertile and vast a country as Hungary to be? A generally improved system of husbandry,—an extensive sale for its products in other countries, would soon enrich all classes, and especially the proprietors of land in this kingdom, beyond all ordinary calculation.

As we travelled onwards we met frequently immense flocks of sheep. Those of the native breed have very coarse wool. It is chiefly used in the country for making the common undyed cloth worn by the peasantry; and I believe, also for the clothing of soldiery. The wool of

the improved breeds is remarkably fine, equal to the best Silesian, and often sold as such at the fair of Breslau, and for which immense sums are paid annually by England. Why are not these golden fleeces shipped direct by way of Austrian ports,—by Trieste or Fiume, to England? Why, indeed? I say, from no other cause than the anti-commercial system of Austria, which, in practice, transfers all the fleecy wealth of the Hungarian nobility into the hands of a few bankers at Vienna. I wish I could determine the Esterhazys, Palfys, Apponyis, and other leading nobles in the country, to act earnestly for their own interest and for that of their country in the consideration of this most important subject. At present the greatest sheep proprietors in Hungary are completely in the hands of a few Vienna bankers, who monopolize the whole wool trade, and must do so until the commercial system of Austria is altered.

The oxen of Hungary are large-boned animals, of a dirty white colour, immense horns, and thick tails. They are nearly the same as the Italian breed,—excellent for draught, and walk fast. Their flesh, however, is as tough as Indian rubber. Veal is the usual meat, which

you get in Hungary; but, as I dislike this flesh, especially when it is perpetually served, I usually managed to get fish of some kind, with which the waters of the country abound; bread, eggs, now and then bacon or ham, and occasionally vegetables. Fruit, especially delicious grapes, we always procured in abundance. With a little money and a little contrivance, that country must be indeed poor in which all that is necessary cannot be had. Good wine is difficult to be found on the route we travelled, but we had some of very fair quality at Warasdin, and we found the liqueur *slivowitza*, extracted from prunes, very agreeable when mixed with water, or even as a pure liqueur. It is chiefly made in Illyria, but a great quantity of strong inflammatory spirit distilled from grain and other substances, is made in Sclavonia and the military frontiers, and called sometimes *brantwein*, and sometimes *slivowitza*. This spirit is found in every little inn throughout the country, at which your driver seldom fails to halt for a moment without dismounting, to take his *schnapps* or dram, which is brought him in an instant by the landlady, or more usually by one of her daughters, while all in the dwelling usually present themselves.

On arriving late in the evening, and a good deal fatigued, at Stein-a-manger, where, it being the seat of a bishop and a clerical seminary, we expected to find tolerable accommodations for the night. Our driver stopped at what he termed the best inn, and where the *kellnerin*, a pretty blooming girl, told us we could have good beds. We were rejoiced at the news, and accordingly descended, and were shown into a large public room, where several persons were sitting on benches before tables eating or drinking. On asking to be shown the sleeping-rooms, the pretty kellnerin asked me to follow her up a narrow stair, and there unlocking a large room in which were not less than eight beds, she pointed out two for us to occupy. All the others were engaged by the people below; and with great *naïveté*, and I am sure with simple innocence, she could not comprehend my reason for saying that I should require three separate rooms in which no others slept, for myself and wife, and for our man and maid servants.

On returning to the sitting-room this was equally incomprehensible to the good people, but explained, I believe, to their astonishment, by a *jager* or huntsman, of some neighbouring

baron, and who, having travelled in other lands with his lord, told the good people that in the country we came from it was the custom always to sleep in separate rooms.

If we did not find accommodations for sleeping, we were not disappointed in regard to supper. They soon prepared potatoes by boiling,—excellent trout, fried, which, with some bacon, bread, and tolerably good wine, and really very good coffee afterwards, prepared us, during the remaining part of a splendid moonlight night, to resume our journey; and after passing through the small town of Güns, to arrive in good time for breakfast at the thriving town of Oedenburg, situated amidst one of the loveliest landscapes on earth, facing the New Siedler-See,* and surrounded by fields, meadows, and vine and wood-decked hills. Here we found a good inn, excellent fare, delicious wines, ready attendance, and a moderate bill of charges.

Oedenburg, although its population does not exceed 14,000 inhabitants, is more remarkable for its industry than any town I have visited in Hungary. Cloths of very fair quality

* This lake, about 20 English miles long, and from 4 to 6 broad, is shallow and salt.

are manufactured here. It is the greatest pork-market in the country; and from forty to fifty thousand horned cattle are also sold here at the fairs. The vineyards of the neighbouring hills are another valuable source of commerce, which sends thirty-two thousand eimers of wine annually into the trade of this town. Coal-mines in the vicinity, although yet worked but on a limited scale, may be brought into very extensive use, especially if a rail-road for their conveyance were extended to Vienna, or even to join the canal from that capital to Neustadt.

Nature has showered riches around Oedenburg, and the industry of the population, chiefly Germans, has turned the gifts of Heaven to an advantage, the example of which, if followed in all parts of the kingdom, would inevitably be attended with equal benefits.

LETTER IX.

HUNGARIAN WINES.

The wines of Hungary have been far more celebrated than their general quality deserves; yet, as generally, the soil and sunny sides of the Hungarian hills and mountains are far more favourable to the growth of those grapes which afford more delicious wines than even the vine districts of France.

Hungary, at the same time, does certainly yield some of the richest and most pleasant wines in the world. The quantity of those fine wines is still too limited, and the prices consequently too high, for them to be usually produced at the tables even of the most wealthy, and are very seldom to be had at all in foreign countries.

Some of the moderately-priced Hungarian wines are, however, very good. Those which the vineyards on the hills of Buda or Ofen yield resemble wholesome Bordeaux, or what we should call a rich unadulterated claret. On the hills near Oedenburg, pleasantly-flavoured wines of second quality are also produced, and in the country east of the Danube the wines of the hills of the Banat, and of Lobosh and Komlosh, are considered of rich quality. The grapes in many parts are said to be admirably adapted for making wine similar to champagne; but I believe no such wine is made, although, some years ago, a French schoolmaster succeeded in manufacturing wine from Wallachian grapes, inferior to those of Hungary, which he sold at Bucharest as real champagne, at an enormous price; and from the mere profits of the wine sold to the buyer from whom he rented the vineyard, he, in three years, brought the proprietor so deeply in debt, that the latter, to rid himself of the claim, transferred the ground to the schoolmaster.

With less labour and skill than is practised in France and Rhenish Germany, the hills of Hungary with sunny aspects, might be made to yield vast quantities of the finest and richest

wines. The whole quantity now said to be produced annually is stated vaguely at about 18,000,000 eimers.*

One-tenth of this quantity may be considered superior, three-tenths tolerably good, and six-tenths thin, flat, acid, and, to those accustomed to the better kinds of wines, undrinkable.

The celebrated Tokay, like the Johannisberg of the Rhine, and the Clos-vogeat of Burgundy, is the produce of a few vineyards, of limited extent, on the south slope of one of the mountain-ridges in northern Hungary, near the town of Tokay (in latitude 48° 10′ N.). From all I could observe, there are thousands of equally favoured slopes for vineyards, especially in those parts of south-western Hungary over which we lately travelled, and upon the estates of Prince Esterhazy. Industry, skill, and markets, the *desiderata* which are in every other respect wanting to enrich and to render Hungary great and powerful, are those alone which are necessary to make her yield, in the greatest quantity, the most delicious wines in Europe.

* This estimate is certainly over-rated, as it is nine and a half gallons the eimer, about fifteen English gallons for each inhabitant.

The wines called Tokay are but very partially produced on the hills of Hegy-Allia, or Tokay, for nearly all that is yielded on the neighbouring hills facing the south receives the same name. But the fine rich Tokay owes its celebrity to the process of making it. The best grapes are picked, and suspended in netted bags hung in the sun, over tubs into which the juice drips without pressing. The wine thus produced is called the Ausbrusch, or first quality, and is entirely monopolized by the emperors of Austria and Russia, and a few of the first magnates. If a pint bottle can by any chance be had, the cost will be at least ten florins, or twenty shillings. Ausbrusch has been sold as high as one hundred florins, or ten pounds the bottle. The second quality, Matzchlap, is either produced by slightly pressing the grapes hung in the sun, or mixing the juice for the Ausbrusch with a certain quantity of other good wine. The other qualities of Tokay, and that which may be considered as alone to be purchased, is made of picked grapes, subjected to the usual process of vinous fermentation.

The wines of Ofen and Oedenburg, of

Menes, Erlau, Rust, and St. George, are ranked next in quality after Tokay, and they certainly, if not adulterated, as is alleged, after they get into the Vienna dealers' hands, are excellent wines.

LETTER X.

THE FAMILY OF ESTERHAZY.

INSTEAD of proceeding by the high road from Oedenburg to Vienna, we drove round over the heights west of the Neu-Seidler-See to Eisenstadt, the magnificent seat of Prince Esterhazy. The usual former residence of the family, and called Esterhaz, is distinct and distant from the seat at which the family now chiefly reside when not at Vienna.

Esterhaz has a vast schloss, or castle, a large library, rich collections, and extensive gardens. At the castle of Frakno, or Forchtenstein, a fortress not far distant belonging to Esterhazy, the family treasures, jewels, massive silver, &c., are usually secured.

Eisenstadt,* however, being the favourite residence, and, I must say, deservedly so, has caused the others to be neglected and almost forgotten. The splendid situation, the water, hills, forests, the gardens, especially the botanic gardens of Eisenstadt, render it, with its vast palaces, the most princely seat in Austria. I consider it far preferable in all respects to Versailles; although a Frenchman would say now, as a Frenchman formerly said to Dr. Moore; "Ah, par bleu! Versailles était fait exprès pour n'être comparé à rien."

The prince being absent in England, I did not think it proper, although I now know I might have done so without its being considered a presumption, to intrude upon the members of the family then at Eisenstadt. A servant showed us, with honest pride in regarding its splendour, round the palace and over the grounds; and although neither our names nor country were made known, refreshments were laid out for us, of which we merely stopped to partake of an ice and glass of wine each, as we had ordered dinner at the hotel of

* The palace of Eisenstadt was built about 1680, but often embellished, and many buildings attached to it since.

the adjoining little town. I have since been rebuked by an amiable member of the family, for not making ourselves known; hospitality being at all times the characteristic of the Esterhazys, and of the joyous halls of their celebrated house.

In looking over Dr. Moore's* "View of Society and Manners on the Continent of Europe," his account of Eisenstadt (which he calls Esterhasie) is so vividly descriptive, that, with little alteration, although written about sixty years ago, it gives a picture of what may yet be seen at this magnificent residence.

"Prince Esterhazy is the first in rank of the Hungarian nobility, and one of the most magnificent subjects in Europe. He has body-guards of his own, all genteel-looking men, richly dressed in the Hungarian manner.

"The palace is a noble building, lately finished,† and situated near a fine lake; the apartments are equally grand and commodious; the furniture more splendid than almost any

* Celebrated by many only as the father of General Sir John Moore; but more justly so as the author of "Zelucco," and personally as an excellent man.

† Scarcely then finished; for it has been greatly ornamented and enriched since that period.

thing I have seen in royal palaces. In the prince's own apartments there are some musical clocks; and one in the shape of a bird, which whistles a tune every hour.

"Just by the palace there is a theatre for operas and other dramatic entertainments; and in the gardens a large room, with commodious apartments for masquerades and balls.

"At no great distance, there is another theatre, expressly built for puppet-shows. This is much larger than most provincial play-houses; and I am bold to assert, is the most splendid that has yet been reared for that species of actors. We regretted that we could not have the pleasure of seeing them perform; for they have the reputation of being the best comedians in Hungary.

"We had the curiosity to peep behind the curtain, and saw kings, emperors, Turks, and Christians, all ranged very sociably together. King Solomon was observed in a corner, in a very suspicious *téte-à-tête* with the Queen of Sheba.

"Among other curiosities, there is in the garden a wooden house, built upon wheels. It contains a room, with a table, chairs, a looking-glass, chimney, and fire-place. There

are also closets, with many necessary accommodations. The prince sometimes entertains twelve people in this vehicle, all of whom may easily sit round the table; and the whole company may thus take an airing together along the walks of the garden, and many parts of the park, which are as level as a bowling-green. The machine, thus loaded, is easily drawn by six or eight horses.

"Prince Esterhazy having heard of our being in the garden, sent us an invitation to the opera which was to be performed in the evening; but as we had brought with us no dress proper for the occasion,* we were forced to decline this obliging invitation.

"The prince afterwards sent a carriage, in which we drove round the gardens and parks. These are of vast extent, and beautiful beyond description. Arbours, woods, hills, and valleys, being thrown together in charming confusion. If you look over Ariosto's description of the gardens in Alcina's enchanted island, you will have an idea of the romantic fields of Esterhazy, which are also inhabited by the same kind of animals.

* A plain dress-suit would now, as in Paris or London, be quite sufficient.

' Trà le purpurei rose e i bianchi gigli,
Che tepid' aura freschi ognora serba,
Sicuri si vedean leprì e conigli;
E cervi con la fronte alta e superba,
Senza temer che alcun li uccida pigli,
Pascono, e stansi ruminando l' erba:
E saltan dam e caprì snellì e destri,
Che sono in copia in quei luoghi campestri.'*

" Having wandered here for many hours, we returned to the inn, where a servant waited with Prince Esterhazy's compliments, and a basket containing two bottles of Tokay, and the same quantity of champagne and old hock. We lamented very sincerely that we could not have the honour† of waiting on this very magnificent prince, and thanking him personally for so much politeness.

" A company of Italian singers and actors were then at the inn, and preparing for the

* While midst the roses red and lilies fair
For ever nursed by kindly zephyr's care,
The nimble hares in wanton mazes played,
And stately stags, with branching antlers, strayed;
Without the fear of hostile hand they stood
To crop or ruminate their grassy food.
And wild goats frolic—leap the nimble deer,
That in this rural place in troops appear.

† This arose at that time from the etiquette of dress, —a folly which then prevailed all over Europe.

opera; great preparations were making for the entertainment of the empress and all the court, who are soon to make a visit here for several days. Though the imperial family and many of the nobility are to live in the palace, yet every corner of this large and commodious inn is bespoke for the company which are invited upon that occasion."

Eisenstadt still continues as sumptuous and hospitable a residence. Its neighbouring grounds afford some of the best and most extensive field-sporting in Hungary. A kind of *interregnum* has occurred in consequence of the prince's absence in England; but as he is expected here in spring, festivities will then be undoubtedly resumed on a splendid scale.

Princess Esterhazy* is a charming woman, daughter of the Prince Tour and Taxis, one of the most wealthy noblemen in Germany. The eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, by this marriage, was married four years ago to Count Frederick Chorinsky; and the second daughter, Princess Theresa, is soon to be married. The

* Prince Esterhazy's mother, the dowager princess, is still living in good health. He has no brothers, and only one sister, widow of Prince Maurice of Liechtenstein.

only son, Prince Nicholas, now in England, is not yet twenty years of age.*

I was very sincerely gratified on finding the excellent character which Prince Esterhazy bears in his own country: not as a personage of almost more than sovereign power, but what is much more, as a landlord and a proprietor of human beings, who are treated with great consideration under him, and who, I believe, feels ardently desirous of changing the system of feudal services into that of mere rent. In fact, if he were a prince intent on accumulating enormous wealth, he might even now increase it fourfold by severity in exacting all that he could claim from those who live on his territories. But he has, I am convinced, in view other ends that will (without money being his chief object) increase his own revenue, and at the same time extend invaluable happiness to those who inhabit his vast domains.

* Since this letter was written, Prince Esterhazy has, agreeably to the emperor's request, consented to remain three years longer as ambassador at the court of London.

LETTER XI.

SCHUBRI, THE BANDIT OF BANKORE.

HUNGARY and Transylvania have, at various periods, been as famed for bandits as Spain or Italy; although their exploits have been but little known to western Europe.

About twenty-five years ago, a formidable band spread terror over eastern Hungary, Transylvania, and the Banat. For a long time every attempt to subdue them, and every plan to surprise them, failed. At length suspicion fell upon a shepherd, who came regularly from the mountains to Lobosh, to purchase wine, in quantities too great, and of a quality too good, for the ordinary consumption of that part of the country. The shepherd was seized; and threats and promises extorted from

him the confession that he purchased the wine for the robbers,—that their number was about one hundred,—that their retreat was of difficult access, in one of the largest caverns in Transylvania, and so strongly fortified at the entrance, that they would be able to destroy all who approached it.

The shepherd was both frightened and bribed to betray them. If the stratagem failed, and the shepherd did not return, his wife and children, who were retained by the governor of Lobosh as hostages, were to be executed. If it succeeded, the shepherd was to have a free pardon and a pension of one hundred florins for life. He was then ordered to proceed with the wine as usual, into which opium was infused. The robbers got drunk, and slept upon it,—the cavern was surprised and taken, —and the whole of the bandits were hung in chains on the mountain above the cavern.

The chief of the bandits who are now so formidable in Hungary, is called Schubri, or Sobri. Various accounts of his birth and character have been given from time to time. It was first believed that he was of noble birth; and the heroism of his character, and his daring boldness, was the general theme of

conversation at all the inns and little towns of Hungary. It was then given out that he was one of the class of wandering shepherds, who have certainly produced more brigands than honest men.

Schubri's audacious appearance where he is least expected, exhibits him frequently in a most daring position. He enters towns by himself; dines at *table-d'hôtes*; and on leaving, says to the guests, "I am off; and you will boast of having dined with Schubri!"

Not long since, several noblemen dined at a *table-d'hôte* in Szarvaz, a stranger entered, sat down as a traveller at the table, amused the guests by his anecdotes and conversation, and after dinner, bowed to the company, and said on leaving the room, "Gentlemen, it is Schubri whose company you have had. Adieu! till we meet again."

His band was at hand; and not long after, he entered the schloss of one of the nobles he had dined with, saying, "I have occasion for two hundred ducats, and must have them at once, or I will instantly make your heir lord of this castle."

Not long since it was announced that the greater part of his daring band, harassed by

detachments of Hungarian troops, were dispersed. This soon turned out a false report: a few of his band were surprised, and three or four taken, among whom were, Nagy Janesi, said to be the most bold and dexterous, and Milfait, who has been beheaded, and who has given a curious account of the chief, Schubri.

It now appears that this daring brigand is only about twenty-seven years of age, and was born at Funf-kirchen, in which town his father was an extensive tanner, and his uncle a saffron manufacturer, who had in that business realized a fortune.

Schubri, when a boy, was so daring, and so often engaged in plots among his fellows, that he gave perpetual uneasiness to his parents. He involved himself in bloody squabbles with the children of the nobles, and he was consequently sent from home, and placed in a school at Gotha. He is said to have made extraordinary progress in his studies, first at school, and afterwards in the gymnasium of that town, while he became at the same time in the highest degree despotic over the students, who usually submitted to him. At Gotha he wrote ballads and composed music, and he made his companions sing them, or join

him in the chorus. If they sung out of tune he beat them, yet they obeyed him; and he at last excited them to an insurrection, to storm at night, by torch-light, the Numismatic Cabinet.

Pursued by the soldiers and police, he escaped by swimming the river and burrowing under the stables of the schloss of Friededstein, and then wandered through Hanover and Holstein to Lubeck, from which he passed over to Upsala, in Sweden, by concealing himself in a vessel of that country, and not appearing until they had nearly crossed the Baltic.

He was reduced to extreme distress; and from his father, who had previously sent him sufficient means, he had not heard since the beginning of 1836. He was, in consequence, obliged to leave Upsala, where he had previously determined to reform his life, and apply himself closely to study. Before his departure, however, he commenced his career as a robber. It was winter, and he sallied out of town after dark, dug in the road, then deeply covered with snow, a kind of pit, covered it over with branches and then with snow. The road in winter being confined to little more than a track, the first traveller fell into the pit, and

was attacked and robbed by Schubri. This he repeated for four or five nights; but being attacked in the market by the dog of a farmer whom he had robbed, he disappeared immediately from Sweden, and after landing in Germany travelled on to Hungary, robbing as often as opportunity enabled him.

On reaching Joseph-stadt, in his native country, he wrote his father, boldly avowing his robberies, which he laid entirely to the principle of *necessity*, and to which, he asserted, the first noble families in Europe owed their origin.

He then set to work, with extraordinary management and patience, to organize a band of brigands, to whom he wished to impart a romantic, military, and even chivalrous character. Numerous young men of high or desperate spirit, and overwhelmed with debt, amidst society, soon joined Schubri. His band was also augmented by discharged non-commissioned officers, and romantic students, to an organized body of one hundred well armed and trained men.

In less than seven months, either as a body or in detachments, they have committed the most daring robberies. Schubri, in all attacks,

is at their head. In June he had a most desperate engagement with a troop of hussars. He was wounded, but he fought his way with great bravery, and escaped with his men.

He was lately, with three of his men, surrounded at night in a farm-yard near the Platten-See, by forty horsemen. His presence of mind and audacity saved him. He directed his companions to throw aside their arms and part of their clothes. He then, followed by them, ran with lighted lanterns to the outer entrance, and addressed the soldiers, as if he belonged to the farm-house, saying, they had better station themselves immediately at the inner gate, to prevent the robbers escaping, as they were desperate, and should be at once surprised in the house, where they were then regaling themselves. The stratagem succeeded, and Schubri and his men were off before the soldiers even approached the house, in which all the inmates were surprised asleep, quite unconscious of what had passed.

A few days after, he robbed an estate belonging to the Archduke Charles, of every valuable article he could carry away.

He is now said to have a completely organized troop of five hundred men, being reinforced

by Bosnians, Pandaurs, and others. A comedian of Ratisbon, named Kapfen, has lately joined him; and his band, altogether, consists not of starving peasants or serfs, but of men degraded by vices, that have rendered them desperate.

He has established among them strict discipline,—employs a treasurer,—pays his men regularly,—has a surgeon to dress their wounds, and gives prizes to those who excel in carbine shooting and in gymnastic feats. He has subordinate officers, and is now said to be forming a troop of cavalry. He probably dreams of becoming a mighty conqueror.

Robbing the rich, and never injuring, but when possible, to assist the poor, is the principle he promulgates. It is said, that not a single murder can be traced to him; and that he once ordered one of his gang to be shot for robbing a peasant.

A few days ago, a positive account of his capture reached Vienna. His appearance terrifying the country near Hermanstadt, in Transylvania, was given in another account. In fact, he is a second Rob Roy.

LETTER XII.

WINTER AT VIENNA.

Now that the carnival is over, and that the abstinence of lent leaves me more at leisure than I have been for some time past, I will endeavour to give you, as you request, some account of the winter in this capital.

We have had snow and severe frost; and the narrow streets of Vienna, when glazed over with ice, are the most dangerous in the world, and the most difficult to maintain a footing upon. Your skating amateurs might actually figure upon them, were it not for the eternal movement of all descriptions of carriages, which alone form an interruption.

But there are other grounds for skating. The branches of the Danube,—the great river

itself,—the waters at the lower end of the Prater, are covered with ice; and what a field for *curling!* Then the sledging amateurs, with their fanciful vehicles, driving over the glassy surface of *solid* water or frozen snow, and often to the chase. For all these sports and diversions the vicinity of Vienna is, during *the frost*, admirable; while every luxury that the heart can yearn for, may be found at the same time within the imperial city.

The season opened early, with dinners and balls. Our own Ambassador gave a dinner party in honour of the Turkish minister: fifty of the most distinguished personages sat down to an entertainment displaying great taste and elegance, but, like every thing in which Sir Frederick is concerned, without ostentation.

The representative of Turkey afterwards opened the splendid palace which he has hired from Prince Esterhazy, in the Faubourg, to all the fashionable and distinguished world. Oriental and European magnificence were at the same time exhibited with dignified splendour.

The marriage by proxy of the beautiful Archduchess Maria Theresa to the King of Naples, attracted attention for some weeks; and the

rich elegance of her *trousseau* was for a fortnight all that the ladies talked of. She herself seemed to think little of the matter, further than that she might be seen almost every day in some shop buying such articles as she fancied.

After the marriage, a court entertainment was given to the members of the order of the Golden Fleece, to which all the diplomatic corps were invited; and two or three days after there was a grand concert, in honour of the Archduchess Maria Theresa, when she appeared for the first time as the affianced bride of the King of Naples. A brilliant fête was afterwards given by the Neapolitan minister, the Marquis di Gagliati; at which were present, besides the imperial family, the Duke of Nassau, the Prince of Salerno, uncle to the King of Naples, and many persons of the first distinction. It was at this fête that the emperor, empress, and the other members of the imperial family, took leave of the Queen of Naples and of the Archduke Charles. That morning she left, accompanied by her father, and the Countess d'Ertz, for Trent, where she met her consort, and from thence they proceeded to Venice, from which they embarked for Naples. The Prince and Princess of Salerno followed

them; and the Archduke Charles has since returned, after delivering up his beloved daughter to the arms of a sovereign.*

The death of Charles X., which occasioned the court to *assume* mourning; and the temporary closing of the two court theatres, caused a few days' dulness, in which there was no sincerity. The ex-king's body was interred at Grätz, in presence of an imperial commission, to whom, immediately before the coffin was put into the vault, the body was shown, and then locked up with three distinct keys, after the manner observed at the funeral of any one of the house of Hapsburg, in the vaults of the Capucins. Pompous funeral masses were previously celebrated at the palace church, and at the cathedral of Vienna. Even the Count de St. Aulaire, the minister of Louis-Philippe, put on mourning; but this was in accordance to the etiquette of the court, and not out of respect to the memory of the ex-monarch. The whole of this mummery, in which I am persuaded there was not one grain of honesty, was very inconvenient at the time to the imperial family,

* It is said that Leopold, second brother of the King of Naples, has asked the hand of the sister of Maria Theresa.

and personally disrelished by all Vienna. The formality was, however, considered due to a deceased ex-crowned head.

The carnival opened with more than ordinary brilliancy. The fantastic processions, in every possibly fancied costume, of the citizens, and the fêtes and balls of the latter, with the liberties which the customs of the carnival allow, presented Vienna in a very different aspect to that into which it would almost appear impossible to transform it. There was, however, no licentiousness that could annoy any one. The pope has thought proper to prohibit the carnival this year at Rome:—he would find it beyond his power to do so at Vienna.

The empress and emperor have both been unwell, and one of the court balls was postponed in consequence. Several receptions took place; and at the grand court-ball given before Christmas, the members of the *corps diplomatique*, and all foreigners of distinction, with several officers of the Burger guard, were presented. If the emperor were in better health, I am convinced, from all I have seen and learn of him, that he would do much good in Austria; and there is an amiability and excellency of heart in the disposition of the

empress, that would render her beloved in any station.

The Countess de St. Aulaire's entertainment was quite in the highest *cast* of Parisian style: and the good ladies have not yet ceased talking of it, and of that given by the Ottoman ambassador.

The Princess Metternich entertains at her weekly *soirées*, and a fortnight ago she also gave a grand ball. All foreigners who were introduced into the fashionable circles were invited. The Duke of Nassau and sons were there;—also Prince Vasa;—also the Vladika of Montenegro.* Marshal Marmont, who formerly, under Napoleon, made war on the Montenegrins, made up to the Vladika, and had a long conversation with him.

The intercourse between families, and the reception of strangers at Vienna, seems to be gradually acquiring a more easy position. The

* This country, bordering on Turkey, is considered under its government; but it is said, that when the Vladika was asked a few days ago, if he intended to present himself to the Turkish ambassador, replied, "Neither I, nor yet my people, have any thing to acknowledge to Turkey; we have nothing to do with that country, unless it be with our arms."

expected return of Prince Esterhazy, and the increased resort of foreigners to Vienna, will, it is supposed, be attended with much that will ameliorate the formality which has certainly prevailed here for a long time; but of which visiters, who have not been well introduced, and who have not remained long in this capital, have given very erroneous accounts.

Joseph II., and even his brother, had in view to render the society and manners of their court and capital, at the same time, the most agreeable and virtuous in Europe. From Dr. Moore's account, written at that time, it appears that there then existed much that was highly attractive at Vienna.

Speaking of society, Dr. Moore observes, "The manners of this court are greatly altered since Lady Mary Wortley Montague was here, particularly since the accession of the present empress (Maria Theresa), whose understanding and affability have abridged many of the irksome ceremonials formerly in use. Her son's (Joseph II.) philosophical turn of mind, and the amiable and conciliating turn of the whole family, have, no doubt, tended to put society in general upon a more easy and agreeable footing.

"People of different ranks now do business together with ease, and meet at public places without any of those ridiculous notions about precedency of which the ingenious English lady has given such lively descriptions. Yet trifling punctilios are not so completely banished, as, I imagine, the emperor could wish, he himself being the least punctilious man in his dominions: for there is certainly a greater separation than good sense would direct between the various classes of his subjects. And, what is of more importance in a political sense, there are certain places of high trust in the government which cannot be occupied by any but the higher order of nobility.

"The ideas relative to dress seem to have entirely changed since Lady Mary's time; and if not so absurd, at least not so singular; for they have, like the rest of Europe, adopted the Parisian modes.

"The present race of Austrian ladies can differ in nothing more than in their looks from their grandmothers, who, if any of them be still alive, may be as beautiful as when she wrote; for time itself could not improve that ugliness, which, according to her, was in full bloom sixty years ago. I have not yet inquired what method

the parents have devised to remedy this inconvenience, but nothing is more certain than that it is remedied effectually: for at present there is no scarcity of female beauty at the court of Vienna.

"This being the case, it is natural to imagine that gallantry must now be more prevalent than when her ladyship was here. But nothing is more heinous in the eyes of her imperial apostolical majesty, who seems to think that the ladies of her court, like the wife of Cæsar, should not only be free from guilt, but from suspicion.

"With regard to what Lady Mary calls submarriages, they are not common in the latitude of her curious description. But it is not uncommon for married ladies here to avow the greatest degree of friendship and attachment to men who are not their husbands, and to live with them in great intimacy, without hurting their reputation, or being suspected, even by their own sex, of having deviated from the laws of modesty."

"I never passed my time," observes Dr. Moore, in another letter, "more agreeably than since I came to Vienna; we dine abroad two or three times a week—we sometimes see a little play, but never any deep gaming. At

the Countess Thun's, where I generally pass the evening, there is no play of any kind. The society there literally form a *conversazione*. The countess has the art of entertaining company, and of making them entertain one another, more than any person I ever knew.

"To her politeness, and the recommendation of Baron Swieten, I am indebted for the agreeable footing I am on with Prince Kaunitz,* who at present lives at Laxenburg, a pleasant village, ten miles from Vienna, where there is a small palace, and very extensive park, belonging to the imperial family. Prince Kaunitz has lately built a house there, and lives in a style equally hospitable and magnificent. He is not to be seen before dinner by any but people on business; but he always has a pretty large company at dinner, and still greater numbers from Vienna pass their evenings at Laxenburg: not unfrequently the emperor himself makes one of the company.

"The emperor is of middle size, well made, and of fair complexion. He has considerable resemblance to his sister, the Queen of France,†

* Father of the present prince, and president of the cabinet of Maria Theresa, Leopold, and Francis: also father to the first wife of Prince Metternich.

† Marie-Antoinette.

which, in my opinion, is saying a great deal in favour of his looks. His manner is affable, obliging, and perfectly free from the reserve and lofty deportment assumed by some on account of high birth.

" Whoever has the honour of being in company with him, so far from being checked by such despicable pride, has need to be on his guard not to adopt such a degree of familiarity as, whatever the condescension of the one might permit, would be highly improper in the other.

" He is regular in his way of life, moderate in his pleasures, steady in his plans, and diligent in his business. He is fond of his army, and inclines that his soldiers should have every comfort and necessary consistent with their situation. He is certainly an economist, and lavishes very little money on useless pomp, mistresses, or favourites; and it is on no better foundation that his enemies accuse him of avarice.

" His usual dress (indeed the only one in which I ever saw him, except at the feast of the knights of St. Stephen) is a plain uniform of white faced with red. When he goes to Laxenburg, Schönbrun, or other places near

Vienna, he drives two horses in a plain chaise, with a servant behind, and no other attendant. He very seldom allows the guard to turn out as he passes through the gate. He is fond of conversing with ingenious people. Nobody ever had a stronger disposition to judicious inquiry. When he hears of any person, of whatever rank or country, being distinguished for any particular talent, he is eager to converse with him, and turns the conversation to the subject on which that person is thought to excel, drawing from him all the useful information he can.

"He is convinced, that unless a sovereign can contrive to live in some societies on a footing of equality, and can *weigh his own merit without throwing his rank, guards, and pomp into the scale*, it would be difficult for him to know either the world or himself.

"One evening, at the Countess Wallenstein's, the emperor enumerated some remarkably ludicrous instances of the inconveniences of *etiquette* which had occurred at a certain court. One person present hinted at the effectual means his majesty had used to banish every inconvenience of that kind from the court of

Vienna. To which he replied, 'It would be hard indeed, if, because I have the ill fortune to be emperor, I should be deprived of the pleasures of social life, which are so much to my taste. All the grimace and parade to which people in my situation are accustomed from their cradle, have not made me so vain, as to imagine that I am in any essential quality superior to other men.'

"A few days after this, there was an exhibition of fireworks on the Prater, when the emperor, observing an unwieldy English gentleman, who had been at the Countess Wallenstein's, anxious, but too large to get through the railings, while small men crept under, said, 'Ah! sir, you have heard me say how inconvenient it was to be too great!'"

From the account I have given you of the late emperor, you will perceive that, although Francis had neither the philosophic mind nor the reforming principles of Joseph II., that he practised the same affability and simplicity as a man. The present emperor's ideas have certainly a greater affinity to those of Joseph than to the political principles and contracted religious views of Francis, and his manners, as

I have observed, are equally unaffected and simple. His health alone prevents him from being equally active; but he supplies the parts, which he himself would otherwise perform, by taking his uncle, the Archduke Charles, and his brother, the Archduke Francis, into the council of state conference.

The style of living during the time of Joseph II. and the present appear really to differ very little, unless it be that several of the younger nobility, who have succeeded to the inheritance of their ancestors, are charged with being far less munificent than their fathers. Country balls, city balls, receptions, are much on the same footing. The chase is equally a favourite pursuit; the grounds of the nobility in Austria, Hungary and Bohemia, afford the most abundant sport.

Anniversaries, commemorating great events, and observances long venerated, are religiously remembered, and still celebrated in Austria, and in the several states of the empire. Whether in the spirit of former days, or of a period in the recollection of old people, now living, may be questioned.

The calamities to which the empire was subjected during the greater part of the life

of Francis, rendered that monarch insensible, or disinclined him to the enjoyment of those festivities, which had, in the time of Joseph II. and his predecessors, been celebrated with imposing splendour.

The feast of St. Stephen has always, as the patron saint and king of Hungary, been regarded with uncommon pomp. The emperors on the occasion have dined in public, with the knights of the Golden Fleece, dressed in their robes, and surrounded by Hungarian guards with drawn sabres.

The honour of serving the emperor was limited to Hungarian noblemen. The public have always been admitted to behold this feast, which was given in a vast hall, in the balcony of which were seated the empress, archduchesses, and ladies of the court.

The anniversary of the defeat of the Turks by Sobieski, is another feast still commemorated. The imperial family, and the principal nobility of both sexes, walk in solemn procession to hear mass performed in the cathedral of St. Stephen. The streets at the same time are lined with guards, and the windows and tops of the houses crowded with spectators, while a vast train of bishops, priests, deacons,

and monks, with bands of music, bring up the procession. All Vienna appear on this occasion in their richest dresses and most splendid equipages.

On the following day, it has been the custom of the imperial family to dine in public, and on the same evening, a grand ball, usually a masquerade, for which from four to five thousand tickets have at times been issued, has generally been given at the palace of Schönbrun.

Now that we are in the midst of Lent, public pleasures are nearly all suspended; yet I assure you that very few *fast*. After Easter, the Prater becomes again, as I have already described, the scene of attraction and display.

The coronation, as was given out for next summer, of the emperor at Milan, as sovereign of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, was one of the topics about which you heard the Viennese talk most. All the ornaments and insignia are preparing at Milan: those used at the coronation of Napoleon in that city, although costly and superbly splendid, are not considered proper in their emblems, and are consequently not to be used.

It is, lately, understood that the pompous ceremony will be postponed for another year; and it is decided that Prince Esterhazy will continue as ambassador at the court of London.

I hope that you will now admit that I have at least endeavoured to give you, in my several letters, a tolerable view of society and manners in the capital of Austria.

LETTER XIII.

JOSEPH THE SECOND AND HIS REFORMS.

I HAVE, in a former letter, said that Francis I. of Austria (second of Germany) was so far behind his age, that he ought to have died at the period his grandmother, Maria Theresa, was born! It may be also observed, that Joseph II. was so far in advance of the age in which he lived, that he would have been a monarch far better adapted to rule, if the period of his reign did not commence until a century after his birth.*

Although he was elected King of the Romans in 1764, and soon after Emperor of

* Joseph was born in March, 1741.

Germany, his mother, the Empress Maria Theresa, retained the power nearly until the day of her death in her own hands. She always attached the first importance to hereditary birth. Her son did not partake of these ideas; and his philosophic mind early led him to consider merit as the real distinction, and he beheld in *man, only man.*

The character and talents of Frederick of Prussia, he who did more than any prince or warrior to humble Austria, seems to have animated Joseph to great deeds, while he himself had already resolved on great reforms. The latter were stimulated by the philosophical works that he had read, and by the breaking out of the troubles in America; for he considered that England had most unjustly oppressed her colonies; and it is certain that he at the time felt no sympathy for the former during that period of Britain's disgrace.

When the seven years' war broke out, it was intended that he should command the army; but the empress suddenly changed this resolution. He married young, the Princess Elizabeth of Parma, whom he adored; but she died in childbirth, and his mother compelled him to espouse the Princess Josephine of Bavaria, for

whom he had no regard; she died two years after.

His first object of reform was the army; the state of which, although often vexatiously opposed by his mother, he, with the assistance of the celebrated general Lascy, greatly improved: but he was perpetually thwarted in regard to the efficiency of the officers, by the aristocracy of the country, who considered that the army was created for them alone. He at length put himself completely at the head of his forces, and determined that none but men of merit should be appointed as officers.

Among some curious well-authenticated letters of this prince, which I have found here, but which I believe are quite unknown in England, I found the following (which I translate for you), to a lady who claimed a post for her son.

"MADAM,

"I do not believe that among the obligations of monarchs, they are bound to give places to one of their subjects for the sole reason that he is a nobleman; but I am to conclude by your letter that I am. Your late husband was a distinguished general, you say,

and a nobleman of ancient family; therefore you consider that I cannot do less than give a company of infantry to your son. Madam, one may be the *son of a general without any talents for commanding*;—one *may be a nobleman of good family, and possess no* other merit than that which he possesses by accident—the title of *nobleman.*

"I know your son—and I know also that which is necessary to make a soldier. This double knowledge convinces me that your son has nothing of the character of a warrior, and that he is too much occupied with his birth, to leave a hope that the country can ever receive benefit from his services.

"It is you, therefore, madam, who are to blame, *as his mother, for your son being neither fit for an officer, nor a statesman, nor a priest. In one word, for his having no other* qualification but his *birth,* in every acceptation of the word. You may therefore render thanks to that Providence, which, in denying talents to your son, has put him in possession of those vast estates, which he may waste at pleasure, and which renders him, at the same time, independent of my favours. Adieu, madam."

Joseph, who was no author himself, although

He read much, pretended to ridicule the idea of royal authors, and remarks, in a letter to his friend Von Swieten, "I cannot conceive how Sovereigns solicit grandeur in making verses, or in arranging the plan of theatricals: not that I would exclude from the education of a sovereign that which appertains to the fine arts.

"The Margrave of Brandenburg (Frederick of Prussia) has made himself the chief of an association of kings, who amuse themselves in making memoirs, poems, and treatises.

"The Empress of Russia (Catherine) imitates him, reads Voltaire, and writes comedies and verses, addressed to her favourites. Stanislaus Lesczinski (of Poland) writes pacific letters. The King of Sweden follows their example, and spends his time in writing, while he leaves his ministers to govern."

Joseph, however, visited Frederick soon after, and admired him exceedingly; and the King of Prussia afterwards returned the visit at the Austrian camp of *Mahrisch Neustadt*, in Moravia, where they, for the time, arrested the partition of Poland, which, however, a short time afterwards was effected, and by which Austria acquired, without conquest or money,

Galicia and Lodomeria, with three millions of subjects.

In 1777 he visited Paris, where he remained some time, but returned shortly before the death of the Elector of Bavaria, which occasioned the war of succession, and which was terminated by Maria Theresa, contrary to the will of Joseph. In 1779, the year before his mother's death, he assumed the undivided exercise of imperial power, but did not fully begin his reforms until after her demise.

He was then forty years of age, in good health, and animated with the determination and ambition of effecting those reforms which he sincerely believed were calculated for the happiness of his people. Sovereign of twenty-two millions of subjects, and at the head of a large well organized army, the regard of all Europe was fixed upon him. His people adored him, but the nobility and the clergy, who could not bear his love of justice, and who dreaded his projects of reform, leagued against him, and, by their infamy, corruption and intrigue, at length created general discontent throughout the empire.

When we consider with what extraordinary

difficulty reforms have been carried into effect in England, in opposition to the Tories and the Church, we need not be surprised at the lamentable termination which the efforts of Joseph II. have had in the states of his empire—in which the nobility and clergy, at that time, possessed all the landed property, and in which the people, ignorant and superstitious, were either tenants or *serfs*; the exceptions being little other than the merchants and manufacturers of the Netherlands.

The hatred of the nobles and clergy was soon kindled by his introducing efficient men into the service of the state—by an extension of liberty to the press—by his suppressing the subordination of the clergy to the pope of Rome—by his regulating pensions according to services—by his tolerance to the Jews—by his plans for abolishing servitude, and suppressing numerous convents and a multitude of monks, but chiefly those who neither taught schools, attended the sick, nor preached.

Notwithstanding these reforms, the pope, in the spring of 1782, came, at the emperor's request, to Vienna, and exercised his sacerdotal functions, although, during the very time that the holy father was showering his benedictions

on all, the emperor was employed in abolishing religious houses;—the inmates of which he reduced, in eight years, from 63,000 to 27,000.

By a new code, he abolished the punishment of death, and greatly reformed the administration of justice. He then determined to organize the government of the imperial states throughout, on one general system, nearly similar to that of the other states of Germany. This innovation, and especially the attempt to force upon the people the German language, was found impracticable. A revolt broke out in Wallachia in consequence, the leaders of which, Gloska and Hora, were executed. It was also planned at that time to exchange the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria, but the other states of Germany prevented this design from being executed.

In 1788 he visited the Empress Catherine in the Crimea, where, at Kherson, the most superb *fëtes* were given by the Russian sovereign in honour of the emperor. While there he received intelligence of an insurrection in the Low Countries. On his return to Vienna, through the general discontents brought about by the nobility and clergy, he was induced, always intent upon the welfare of his people,

to revoke some of the innovations which he considered before so necessary, merely because he judged the change requisite to restore tranquillity. The war with Turkey broke out at the same time, in which he joined Russia; and, notwithstanding Belgrade had surrendered to General Laudon, the summer heat and malady were disastrous to his troops. A new law, in 1784, relative to duties, again spread discontent, and the anti-commercial feeling of the emperor, which he honestly, under erroneous impressions, intended to protect industry, has formed the greatest curse to, and the cause of some of the heaviest calamities which have befallen, the empire.*

Joseph's health had been attacked in the Crimea—he returned sick to Vienna. Fatigue —the chagrin of disappointment in all his plans —disorder in all parts of the empire—the success of the people of the Low Countries in driving the Austrian troops out of all parts of that territory, except Luxemburg—and who, declaring themselves independent, rejected all the concessions offered them by the emperor—

* See financial and commercial systems of Austria hereafter.

and then the troubles in Hungary, which imitated the Low Countries—altogether completely weighed him down, and in despair he revoked, by one single declaration, all the innovations which he had made during his ten year's reign. The states of the empire, even the Tyrol, were thus placed on their former establishment. The effects, however, of these reforms, temporary as they were, have not yet spent their force.

Joseph was now completely worn out. He sunk rapidly under the oppression of those disappointments and reverses, which destroyed both the ardour of his soul and the strength of his body. His frame became rapidly emaciated—the sure precursor of dropsy. Certain that death was meddling with him, he demanded at once of his physician to be made acquainted with the probable time he might live, that he might act accordingly. The latter said, "Your majesty has, at most, but a few days to suffer."

Turning to his chief minister, Kaunitz, he said, "You have heard the doctor's opinion. I must soon bid you adieu—take care of all the papers in the cabinet—I recommend you to my brother and successor." He then bad adieu to

Generals Laudon, Lascy, and to Haddick* and several others.

The consort of his nephew Francis, the Archduchess Elizabeth, for whom he always cherished the affection of a father, was then far gone in pregnancy. Joseph became exceedingly uneasy about her, especially as he had not seen her for some days. It was considered dangerous, for her to behold her uncle in the ghastly form to which he was reduced; but Joseph said, "I must bid her adieu." Before her entrance, however, fearing that his shrunk cadaverous visage might startle her, he had covered his face nearly all over, and a small wax taper, placed in a distant corner, was all the light allowed. At this sad interview the excess of precaution served only to precipitate the melancholy shock it was intended to prevent. His tremulous voice—his position in bed—the gloom of the chamber, rendered still more solemn by the glimmering light, paralyzed the archduchess, and she fell, as if dead, on the bed. She was immediately carried out of the bedchamber, but insisted on returning, saying,

* General Haddick, who was advanced in years, went home immediately, took to his bed, and died in a few days.

"Now I have overcome the shock, and will receive my uncle's blessing."

He spoke affectingly to her—exhorted her to patience and tranquillity for the sake of the child to which she was to give birth, and which might, should it live, succeed to the empire. "I am resigned," said the emperor, "perfectly resigned and tranquil. My brother Leopold, your husband's father, will in a few hours succeed me in the cares of government. Your husband, if God spares him, will succeed my brother, and also the child whom you now bear if a son, and if he lives, follow in his turn." Joseph then blessed her, and said, "Farewell, my beloved niece, we will hereafter meet on a more pleasant journey."*

This was on the 17th of February, and he then prepared to receive the last consolations of his faith. All the court attended the *viaticum* to the chamber immediately before that in which he lay. On this day, he wrote with his own hand, to his sisters, Marie-Antoinette and Christine of Sax-Teschen, and on the following day to Potemkin, minister of Catherine, re-

* She was a Lutheran princess of Wirtemburg, and the first wife of Francis, the late emperor. See volume first. The child did not live to grow up.

commending peace with Turkey, and asking the friendship of Russia for his successor.

His physician begging him to be tranquil, and to leave matters of business to others, —"My dear doctor," said Joseph, "you yourself have announced to me that I have at most but a few days to live, and that even a moment may terminate my existence. My brother has not had the opportunities that I have of knowing the character of men who deserve to be rewarded and appreciated. The moments I have to live are therefore important, and are due, in justice, to others." He accordingly advanced various meritorious officers and civil servants. On the evening of his death he called his domestics around him; and besides leaving something to them in his will, handed each a hundred ducats, desiring them to bear the same regard to his brother they had done to him.

The news just received from France,—the delicate and dangerous position of his beloved sister, Marie-Antoinette, now weighed heavily on his mind,—and before his dissolution, a still more poignant anguish awaited him, as if to consummate the bitterness of his departure.

The Archduchess Elizabeth was seized suddenly with the pains of childbirth; and after enduring the most excruciating sufferings, gave birth to a daughter, and expired.

It appeared necessary to communicate the appalling intelligence to the emperor. Her youthful husband was overwhelmed, and had become frantic by the effect of the unexpected and sudden catastrophe; and the emperor's confessor revealed to him the terrible intelligence. Joseph, unprepared for this climax of sorrow, turned his face to the wall; tears, the last he was doomed to shed, flowed down his hollow cheeks; and a deep sigh followed, with the words, "Lord, thy will be done!" He then recovered his self-possession, as it were suddenly. He made a sign to Count Rosenberg to approach, and then said, in a voice that seemed to come forth from the tombs, "Alas! what I have endured is incredible. I believed myself prepared to support every anguish to which it might please Heaven to subject me; but this terrible calamity surpasses all that I have ever suffered!"

After this he became composed, gave directions for the funeral of the archduchess, and of his own, directed the vaults to be opened

sometime previous, that at their interment, which he directed to be close beside his mother's coffin, no one should be exposed to foul atmosphere. He then directed an estafette to be sent to Bucharest for the Prince of Hohenlohe, to replace, in case of need, the Prince of Coburg, then dangerously ill. He also ordered double pay to be given to his army for fourteen days after his death; and that a million of florins should be immediately drawn from the treasury, for the benefit of the military institute which he had founded.

"I die," said he to General Laudon, "in the full confidence that you will be the protector of my army. Give me your hand: in a very little time I cannot enjoy the pleasure of pressing it in mine."

He now directed the new-born princess to be brought to him; and kissing and blessing it, said, "Dear infant, innocent portrait of thy pure, dear, departed mother, brought to me when the hour of my own departure has also arrived!"

After the infant was carried away, he called his confessor, and began to pray with him, but was unable to proceed. Marshal Lascy, Prince Dietricht, Baron Von Storch, Count Rosen-

berg, and his confessor, remained all night in his chamber. The emperor slept until four in the morning, and then turning round, said,—"You are still here!" Baron Von Storch gave him a little broth, which he swallowed, and then asked his confessor to pray, beginning, "We repose on the faith, the hope, and the love," &c., the emperor repeating until the word love, and then abruptly said, "Stop on the love,"—this book will serve me no longer, keep it in regard to me." Then, after a silence of a few seconds, with suppressed breathing, he exclaimed, "As a man and a sovereign, I believe I have fulfilled my duty;"—and then, turning on his side, breathed more deeply a few respirations, yielded up that spirit which had been so active in life, and so far in advance of the intolerance and illiberality of the age.

LETTER XIV.

SPIRIT AND PRACTICE OF RELIGION.

If irreligion or scepticism exist in Vienna, it is certainly difficult to detect them. The imperial family have always been piously disposed. Maria Theresa was especially so. She scarcely ever omitted attending mass daily at her chapel in the church of the Capucins, for the last thirty years of her life. There is certainly no other city in Europe in which there appears throughout, among the population, so much satisfaction to themselves, in their warm attachment to, and regular observance of, religious duties. Be their creed right or wrong, I should lament their being deprived of the certain consolation which they derive from those devo-

tional observances, however superstitious I or others may think them.

Although I may consider, as I firmly do, all the relics shown in old churches and cathedrals as materials of imposition, employed by priests to dupe the people into credulity—although I do not believe there is one word of truth in the angels having, on the appearance of the Saracens or other infidels, flown away from Palestine, carrying off with them the hut in which the Virgin Mary was born, to the eastern shores of the Adriatic, where they are sworn to have deposited it (with the actual image of the Virgin sculptured by St. Luke) in a castle of Dalmatia, to which they were guided by a blaze of celestial light and concerts of divine music; nor yet that, when the fatigued angels rested with the image and hut in a little wood, all the trees of the forest bowed in adoration; nor, that in consequence of the insufficient respect paid to the hut and image at the Dalmatian castle, the indefatigable angels carried both over the broad bosom of the Adriatic, and finally lodged it safely in the country of the pope himself, at Loretto, where a magnificent temple was built over it, and to which so many thousands of pilgrims have flocked.

Further, although I know that the liquefaction, when brought near the saint's head, of the blood of St. Januarius, so piously gathered by a young virgin when he was beheaded at Naples,—that the phial with the sweat of Jesus—that the chemise of the Virgin, and other relics at Aix-la-Chapelle—that the bodies of the three kings of the east, and the skulls of the eleven thousand virgins of St. Ursula at Cologne—that the rotten body of St. Antonia at Padua emits an agreeable and refreshing flavour—that the actual bodies of St. Matthew and St. Luke are preserved in the same city—that the tongue of Holy John of Nepomuk, now enclosed in a silver case at Prague, as fresh as when it was cut out of that martyr's head, although it lay three hundred years undiscovered under the bridge in the middle of the river, and gave out blood when found—that although all these, with a thousand other assertions, are abominable and disgusting falsehoods, which no man of education and ordinary plain sense believes; yet until the people, who derive tranquillity of mind and consolation from the Catholic or other creeds, however superstitious, are properly educated and enabled to think rationally, I am one of those who would grieve to see

them regardless of that sincere spirit of devotion, or of that practice of religious observance which prevail in the Austrian dominions.

Of the whole population of the imperial states, about thirty-five millions, more than twenty-seven millions, according to Cannabich, are Catholics. The government of this church has, however, been long secured and jealously guarded by the emperors, and over which the pope has not even nominal authority.

Sometime ago, in an article of withering severity on, and great injustice to, the Austrian government, a writer in the Edinburgh Review observed, in respect to religion—"And first, with regard to the great element of *religion*, in which the characteristic selfishness of its policy has always been conspicuous. The court of Rome has ever been a dangerous friend, and a still more formidable enemy to the Catholic monarchies. The emperors of Germany, when at war with the popes, lost the obedience of their subjects, their power, and their crown. Without any impulse of zeal or bigotry, she was intolerant till the middle of last century. She established the Jesuits at an early period, frequently abandoned to their

guidance the affairs of the state, and intrusted them with the education of her princes, but she never would consent to share her power with the popes. The emperors style themselves apostolic, and pay a voluntary homage to Rome, but they acknowledge no compulsory authority. Maximilian, the son of Ferdinand, in his public address to the head of the church, on his election as king of the Romans, substituted the word *obsequium* for *obedientiam*. Even Charlemagne and Napoleon were vain enough to be crowned by popes; but the emperors of Austria, on the contrary, have endeavoured from the first to discredit the practice of receiving the crown from the hands of the pontiff. Nature indeed seems to have endowed them with some peculiar power of resisting the thunders of the Vatican. When the Archduke Rudolph was threatened with excommunication by the pope, he used to say that, within his own dominions, he was himself pope, archbishop, bishop, archdeacon, and priest, and his successors have religiously adhered to the maxim of exercising within their own states all the powers of the church. The Emperor Maximilian endeavoured to organize a general council in Germany, to control the pretensions of the church of Rome.

Joseph II. ventured when he pleased on the boldest reforms in religion within his dominions. He encouraged the publication of the *Monocologia*, a satire against the monks, somewhat similar to the *Guerre des Dieux*, which appeared at the revolution. Instead of walking with the penitential haircloth to Rome, he brought Pius VI., in 1786, a suppliant to his capital; and the reigning monarch, although he inculcates religion in public and private, though he has paid a visit to the pope in Rome, and restored to him eighteen pictures which belonged to the Pinacotheca of Milan, allows no papal bull to be published within his dominions without his previous sanction, and certainly has never dreamed of restoring to the monks the property they possessed before the revolution; and if, in former times, Austria used to consign her heretical subjects to Rome, as to a common centre, for trial and punishment, Italy now repays the obligation by placing in the hands of Austria her political delinquents.

"The treachery and cruelty with which she proceeded against the Hussites in Bohemia are well known. The thirty years war, while it exhausted both herself and her opponents, had

convinced her that the risk of the contagion of the reformed doctrines, or at least of their political tendencies, had in a great measure ceased; that the furious zeal which had at first been roused by the rapid spread of Protestantism was on the decline, and that, in order to preserve the supremacy of Germany, it was necessary that the toleration which she accorded should be sincere.

"In order, therefore, to calm the fears of the Protestant states, and regain their confidence, she began by granting protection and toleration to her own Protestant subjects. If this government is revengeful, it is more from calculation than passion; and accordingly, it never allows its resentment to get the better of its reason, or pushes its vengeance so far as to injure itself. The instant that Austria ceased to persecute, she regained the supremacy of the German empire, which she continued exclusively to exercise down to the reign of Frederick II. From that period Protestant Germany having a natural protector in Prussia, has possessed a surer guarantee for the sincerity of Austrian toleration; and accordingly, that government now allows an equal protection to the Calvinist and

Lutheran doctrines, with all their modifications, and to three millions of Greeks, schismatics, Jews, Moravians, &c.

"Thus Austria, guided solely by an unbending principle of self-interest, emancipated herself early from the papal authority—protected the Jesuits, and availed herself of their services while they were necessary to her—banished them when their services were no longer required—and finally became tolerant, not from feeling but from necessity, when she saw that bigotry was generally on the decline."

That the present Austrian government, which in point of religious toleration, even to the Jews, is the most liberal in Germany, should be chargeable with the crimes and errors of its predecessors, may be brought forward by party writers with about the same justice, as to make Lord Melbourne's ministry accountable for all the oppression and injustice to which Oliver Cromwell, William III., and the church of England, subjected Ireland; or for the dragooning of the Scotch Presbyterians, in order to force upon them that establishment so much extolled by Sir Robert Peel, when he was, as I have lately observed in the newspapers, feasted

and flattered by the degenerated Scots, whose forefathers had so valiantly defended their civil and religious rights.

The prime minister of Austria and his colleagues are far too jealous of their master's omnipotence in the empire, and their own auauthority in the government, to give irresponsible power to the bishops and priests. They make use of those enemies to salutary change and liberality, and must continue to do so, as long as the form of the government remains absolute; but at the same time, neither the present emperor, the Archduke Charles, Prince Metternich, nor Count Kollowrat, will ever consent to give any power to the clergy, further than that which will patriarchally maintain among the people a religious devotion, and passive obedience to the imperial government.*

The Catholic or state church of the Austrian

* The following are extracts from the pastoral letter of the Archbishop of Bohemia, promulgated and read by every priest on and after the coronation of the present emperor, and exactly similar to that promulgated on occasion of the same ceremony when the emperor was crowned in Hungary, and to that which will be issued and read in all parishes after the intended coronation at Milan.

dominions is under the imperial government and control, confided to the metropolitan and diocesan care of thirteen archbishops, and fifty-

"*We, Andreas Aloys, by the grace of God, Prince Archbishop of Prague, Count Skarbeck Ankwicz von Poslawic, Primate of Bohemia, &c. &c. &c.*

"Greet all pious believers of our arch-diocese of Prague, who shall see, read, or hear read this our letter, with our holy salutation and fatherly blessing.

"DEAR LAMBS IN CHRIST JESU!

"We cannot conceal the inexpressible pleasure which our heart felt when, on the 7th of this month, in our holy and ancient metropolitan church, we enjoyed the supreme happiness of anointing one of the greatest and mightiest of monarchs with the holy oil, and of crowning his illustrious head with the holy diadem of the kingdom of Bohemia.

"It was incontestably, and will for ever remain, one of the most happy and most blessed days of our life, for which the inscrutable providence of God hath appointed us, and which leaves us nothing more (except the eternal welfare of our soul) to wish for in this world.

"Thanks be to the All Good! we have happily performed, by God's aid, the triumphant and august solemnity of the coronation of his majesty our most illustrious and beloved Lord Ferdinand, by the grace of God, king of Bohemia. In the splendour of that great and holy ceremony, we have seen and honoured the reflection of the divine glory in the rank of kings, being an institution im-

nine bishops. Most of these dignitaries are princes of the empire, or nobles of the first families. The primate of Hungary has an

mediately derived from God, as it is only through God that kings reign: and the voice of the Most High penetrated to our heart, as he spake to the anointed King David ;—'I have found David my servant: with my holy oil have I anointed him ; with whom my hand shall be established, mine arm also shall strengthen him ; the enemy shall not exact upon him, nor the son of wickedness afflict him.'—(Ps. lxxxix.)

"It was, in truth, a day of the greatest jubilee and the sweetest delight, which, to speak with holy writ, 'the Lord hath made' (Ps. cxviii.); and which will ever remain a never-to-be-forgotten memorial to yourselves, beloved in Christ, to your dependents, and especially to your dear children. The fathers of coming generations will tell the glory of the Lord to their sons—that in the midst of acclamations, of triumph, and of tears of joy, Ferdinand the Just, Bohemia's anointed of God, showed himself to his faithful people, in his royal robes of high state, having the crown of Charles IV. upon his head, and how he was received with the most cordial homage of his good subjects.

"Praised and blessed be the Lord of Hosts!

"'Honour the king,' says the Apostle Peter to all believers, honour the king,—he bears the sword intrusted to him by God, for the protection of the upright, and the punishment of evil doers: as you owe to God from religious duty the most profound devotion, even so do you owe all honour to his majesty, the rightful lord of the realm ; who is the image and vicegerent of God, by whom 'princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth.'

enormous revenue, and all have large incomes. I am sure that Paul, a preacher, when he ordered Timothy, a bishop, to bring him his

"Lastly, religion makes it incumbent upon you to yield a Christian obedience to the king (1 Peter ii. 13). Not from compulsion or hypocrisy, but for the Lord's sake (Rom. xiii. 1, 2); He so ordered it, and it is well-pleasing to His infinite Majesty, for He gave us Himself as a worthy example of obedience to the authorities, in the person of His own Son.

"We now constantly demand and confidently expect from your well-known piety and fear of God, that you also shall conscientiously and under all circumstances perform those duties which the religion of Jesus imposes upon you towards your lord and king. The sincere and profound love, which doubtless moves you towards his majesty, puissantly demands that you should fervently pray to God for him, for his long preservation, and for a happy reign. This duty of praying for the monarch is the more urgent, as by its fulfilment our own welfare will be promoted and ensured; and holy writ teaches us that 'the king's heart is in the hand of the Lord; as the rivers of water, he turneth it whithersoever he will.' —(Prov. xxi.)

"This is, my beloved, true Christian obedience to the ruler appointed by God. Lay then to your hearts the words of Tertullian, spoken by him in the name of the first Christians: 'Honour the emperor,' said he, 'as a person who comes directly after God, and who is subordinate in relation to God alone.'

"We think that we do not err in the tranquillizing belief, that not one of you, as we trust in the grace of God,

cloak and books, and especially the parchments, had no idea of the right reverend and princely dignity of a bishop!

The Catholics of the Greek church are stated at 3,040,000; of which, in Hungary 2,070,000, the remainder in Illyria, Slavonia, Croatia, and Transylvania. They have a metropolitan at Carlowitz in Slavonia, and ten bishops.

The Protestants of the Lutheran confession of Augsburg amount to 1,200,000, in the German states and Galicia,—and 750,000 in Hungary. They are under the consistory of Vienna, and of five superintendencies.

The reformed Protestants, as they style them-

will ever harbour the evil intentions of certain men of whom the Apostle Peter has so bitterly complained, as of those who 'despise government,' and 'are themselves the servants of corruption.'—(2 Pet. ii. 10, 14, 19.)

"May the immortal King of kings, who portions out crowns and sceptres, and wonderfully protects them, bless his majesty, our most gracious, good, and religious king, and her majesty, his illustrious consort, our gracious lady and queen! may He bless the most illustrious and august imperial house of Austria, our dear country Bohemia, and may he suffer us all in peace and tranquillity to work out the salvation of our souls.

"Given in our residence at Prague, the 8th Sept. 1836.

"Andreas Aloys,

"Prince Archbishop."

selves, amount to about 1,600,000, chiefly in Hungary and Transylvania. They have also a consistory at Vienna, and four superintendencies.

The great body of Unitarians are in Transylvania, and are stated by some at 150,000; by others at not more than 50,000. There are about 500,000 Jews, who seem to thrive well in the imperial states, in which there exists nothing at present to disturb the harmony of religion as far as interference on the part of government is concerned: and I must add that the catholic and protestant clergy are on the most charitable understanding the one with the other!

LETTER XV.

MONACHISM AND JESUITISM.

NOTWITHSTANDING the suppression of a multitude of religious houses by Joseph II., monasteries and nunneries are still upon a far more extensive and more richly-provided foundation in the states of the Austrian empire, than in any other country in Europe—not even excepting Italy.

That those hives of consuming and non-productive drones are drawbacks on the national wealth, there can be no denying: although it is contended that the lands belonging to the monasteries and abbeys, when given by princes and other pious persons to religious communities, were at that time in a wilderness state, covered with woods, or occupied by rocks,

which were cleared off, and the soil brought under profitable cultivation by the pious monks and other meek children of the church:—that the religious communities themselves, though idle and non-productive, encouraged agricultural science, and promulgated religious instruction—that their tenants were protected from the oppression of feudal barons*—and that fertile and extensive valleys, and hilly pastures, were thus rendered beautiful and fruitful by those very lazy monks.

True that, originally, monks were instrumental in bringing those lands under cultivation:—that is, they did so by means of the labour and money of others; but as monks leave no children, at least not children that are usually provided for out of those territories, such lands on the death of the monks, to whom the credit of improving them is attributed, should naturally fall into the general property of the state, for public purposes, instead of being *conserved* in perpetuity to maintain successive swarms of drones,—and therefore most unjustly appropriating the property of the state: for,

* *Man lebt gut unter dem Krummstab*, i. e., "one lives well as tenant under the crosier," is a well-known German proverb.

those religious congregations not only contribute nothing towards the public burdens, but they themselves draw the amount of their consumption from the general stock of national commodities, while they occupy upon the earth's surface the room which would be otherwise taken up by the industrious. More than this, they provide nothing for their children: for let it not be believed that congregations of robust healthy monks have no progeny. They have, *clandestinely*, and with *impunity*. This is too well known; but the foundling hospitals which were invented by them, shelter, when not otherwise screened, the fruits of their iniquity.

On this subject, I must confess, I was very long incredulous; but the statements made to me at Prague, Vienna, and towns in which foundling hospitals flourished, were too clearly evident of facts not to remove my doubts. The *Gebärhaus*, or lying-in hospital at Prague, is the resort of about one thousand mothers of clandestine children annually. Women need not even give their names, if they pay a certain sum; otherwise than inserting it, with their address, in a sealed letter, to be opened if the woman should die within the walls. They are

even, by paying somewhat more, admitted in masks. They leave their children afterwards to be brought up at the expense, with some exceptional allowance, of the institution. Others than priests and friars are no doubt the fathers of these children. But the statistical evidence I have alluded to goes sufficiently far to prove the great increase of bastardy, wherever religious communities exist.

Of the evils of monachism, Joseph II. was thoroughly convinced. Of all religious societies he considered the Jesuits the most dangerous, and the most objectionable. After their expulsion from France, the Duke of Choiseul, then secretary of state, wrote Joseph, on the subject of expelling them from the Austrian dominions; but his mother then exercised the whole power, and Joseph could only give his opinions as expressed in the following letter to Choiseul:

"SIR,

"I thank you for the confidence you give me. If I were sovereign, you might count on my ready co-operation. As to the Jesuits, and the plan to abolish their congregation, I am entirely of your opinion.

" Do not depend much upon my mother, for an attachment to this order has become hereditary in the house of Hapsburg. Clement XIV. himself has had proof of this.

" Meantime Kaunitz is your friend. He can do much with the empress, and he is perfectly of your opinion in regard to expelling the Jesuits.

" Choiseul, I know these gentry as well as any man. I know all their projects—all their efforts to spread darkness over the earth—to rule over Europe from Cape Finisterre to the Frozen Ocean.

" They are mandarins in China—academicians, courtiers, and confessors in France—grandees of the nation in Portugal and Spain—and kings in Paraguay.

" If my grand-uncle, Joseph I., had not ascended the throne, perhaps we should have them as *Malagridas*, *Aveiros*, and advocates of regicide in Germany. But my uncle understood them. When one day the *sanhedrim* of the order suspected his confessor of fidelity, and when the latter manifested more attachment for the emperor than for the Vatican, he was cited to Rome. Anticipating the cruel judgment to which he would be doomed, he

implored the emperor to prevent his journey; but all the monarch's efforts were vain. The pope's nuncio himself insisted upon the confessor's departure.

"Irritated at length by this papal despotism, the emperor declared, 'If it is absolutely necessary for this priest to go to Rome, he will not go alone, for all the Jesuits within the Austrian states shall accompany him, never to reappear in any part of this monarchy.'

"This unexpected and almost too hardy reply for the age, made the Jesuits abandon their demand. Such, Choiseul, was their spirit formerly,—such it continues. I know we must change their position. Adieu! Heaven preserve you long to France, to me, and to your numerous friends.

"JOSEPH."

Three years afterwards, in 1773, he wrote an extraordinary letter on the same subject to Count d'Aranda, ambassador from the court of Spain to the court of France. The following extracts show the ideas he entertained of the disciples of Loyola.

"Clement XIV. has acquired immortal glory in banishing the Jesuits from the earth.

Before those *seides* of apostacy were known in Germany, religion was to the people a source of real felicity. The Jesuits have made it the instrument of their own ambition, and the mantle of their shameful projects.

"The intolerance of the Jesuits has drawn on Germany the calamity of a thirty years' war: their principles deprived Henry IV. of France, of his throne and his life,—and they were the authors of the atrocious revocation of the edict of Nantes.

"Their influence over the house of Hapsburg is but too well known. Ferdinand II. and Leopold I. protected them until their last breath. The education of youth, literature, recompences, nominations to the highest places in the state, the ears of the kings and hearts of the queens,—all, in short, was confided to their perfidious direction.

"*If I can hate,* I *execrate* this race of men, who persecuted Fenelon,—who gave birth to the *bull,* '*In Cœnâ Domini,*'—and who have rendered Rome so despicable. Adieu!

"JOSEPH."

Afterwards, on his accession to the imperial diadem, he writes Choiseul, in December, 1780:

"The influence which the *priests* have exercised until now in my mother's government, shall also be the special object of my reforms. *I do not like those men who, intrusted exclusively with the cares of our salvation, move so actively in the mediation of our worldly affairs.*"

Two months after, the emperor writes to the Archbishop of Salzburg:

"My Prince,

"The interior administration of my states exact from me a prompt reform. An empire over which I reign, must be governed according to my principles. *Prejudices, fanaticism, despotism, and the slavery of mind must disappear; and each of my subjects must resume the exercise of his natural rights.*

"Monachism has attained an intolerable excess in Austria. These monks endeavour to escape from the civil authority, and address themselves, *à tout propos*, to the Pontifex Maximus of Rome.

"I have appointed a commission, charged with the duties relative to the suppression of superfluous convents. When I tear off the mask of monachism, and transform the *useless monk* into a *productive citizen*, I then hope

that more than one of those *factious slaves* will speak otherwise, than they now do of my reforms.

"My task is difficult. It is no inconsiderable affair to reduce this army of monks, and to make men of these *fakirs;* before the shorn heads of whom the vulgar prostrate themselves with respect, and who, taking the advantage of fear and superstition, know how to hold empire over the people, at a time when no other object can make an impression on the human mind."

In October, 1781, Joseph writes to Cardinal Herzan, imperial envoy at the court of Rome:

"Since the time I have succeeded to the first diadem in the world, philosophy has regulated my actions. Austria must assume another than her present form. It is indispensable that I should separate from the church certain things that never should have made a part of religion. As I detest *superstition and her Pharisees,* I will give freedom to my people. For this purpose I will drive out the monks, I will suppress their convents. They will denounce me at Rome, that I am sure of. They will say I have attainted divine right. They will cry out, '*the glory of Israel is fallen!*' They will be still more irritated

that I have undertaken to reform without the preliminary authority of the *servant* of the *servants* of God—the Pope.

"The principle of monachism, from the time of Father Pacôme down to our days, has been in direct opposition to common sense. Like all the sons of *Levi*, the priests arrogate a monopoly of the human mind. Their false principles are spread among the vulgar, who no longer know God, and hope for every thing from the saints." The emperor then goes on to state, that his new system will provide seminaries of education, which shall "be nurseries for rearing wise ecclesiastics,—the curates that will come forth from them will carry into the world enlarged minds, and will communicate solid instruction, instead of superstition, to the people."

Rome was highly shocked at all this outrage against her infallibility and power. She could not, however, take upon her to cite Joseph, as she had done Henry IV., to the pope's threshold,—but the intrigues of priestcraft were secretly at work in causing that general discontent which rendered the last days of the emperor wretched. He, however, had gone a great length. In 1784, he writes Pius VI.:

"The funds of the clergy of my states are not destined, as is presumed to be said at Rome, to be extinguished with my reign. No; they are destined to be usefully appropriated for the benefit of my people; and as this measure, as well as the displeasure consequent to it, will appertain to the domain of history, posterity will judge of it without our co-operation. It will therefore become a monument, and I trust not the only one, of my age. I have suppressed the superfluous convents, and congregations, still more superfluous. Their revenues are appropriated to maintain useful curates and primary schools. But the funds of the schools shall have nothing in common with those of the church. But I also find that at Rome the *logic* is not the same as within my states. Hence the want of harmony between Italy and the empire."

These admirable extracts will, I hope, justify my saying that Joseph was so far in advance of his age, that to reign with success he should have ascended the throne a century after his *birth*. Joseph was indeed a great man; but the bigotry and selfishness of the world would not appreciate him when he lived, and it is probable that his unfortunate reverses may

have influenced the whole life of Francis, who succeeded so soon after to the diadem.

The Prince de Ligne, who lived, as I have already mentioned, until the congress of Vienna, said, sighing, "Alas! I died with Joseph II." "Europe," observed a nobleman present, "proclaims him immortal; say, therefore, rather, like him."—"His," replied the prince, "was the immortality of genius; but mine, if I be doomed to have any, will be like that of the sibyl, merely the endurance of age."

That the late emperor should have not only meditated, but resolved in his will, on restoring the Jesuits, is a deplorable instance of superstitious weakness in the character of an amiable monarch. I am bound so to name it, for Francis was too good a man at heart, and too much attached to his people, to do any one act that he did not consider calculated for their preservation and for their benefit.

The members of all religious orders, and the priests of all state religions, will ever be found the dangerous enemies of human liberty. What they dare not do openly, they will persevere in carrying into effect by secret and deeply planned intrigue and treachery. History, in all ages, proves this truth.

Under the restoration, and especially during the reign of Charles X., the Jesuits in France had wormed themselves into power, and into the direction of that besotted king's conscience. In Galicia they are now in the ascendant, having been tolerated in that country even after their expulsion from the empire by Joseph; and lately they have been formally restored. On the 21st of last August, "a solemn service was performed at Lemberg, the capital, by the archbishop and primate of Galicia, in honour of the restoration of the brothers of the order of Jesus to their ancient church."

I can hardly imagine a greater calamity to the Austrian dominions than the re-establishment of the Jesuits; and I can only console myself in my anxiety for the happiness of mankind, in believing that there is too much intelligence in the emperor's council, ever to admit a society so contrary to the spirit of the age, and so dangerous to the safety of the empire; and especially, to commit to their care, as directed in the late emperor's will, the education of youth.

After the general peace in 1815, an extraordinary reaction favourable to Jesuits, monks, and priests, began in several states of Europe,

especially in Spain, France, Sardinia, and Austria. In Spain, Monachism and Jesuitism may, thanks to the influence of intelligence, and intercourse with England, be said to have expired with Ferdinand.

The Jesuits of *Mont-Rouge* precipitated Charles X. from the throne. Rome had resolved to regain her ascendancy in France, through the *reorganization of the Jesuits* in Paris, under the auspices of a fanatic king. An anonymous writer of the day describes, and certainly, without exaggeration, the re-establishment of the congregation of Jesus in France, of which *Mont-Rouge* was the centre.

"The party which is rapidly pushing France towards the abyss into which Spain has fallen, recruits and extends itself with the greatest activity. The Bishop of Hermopolis declared the existence of but seven seminaries of a religious congregation, and of but one political congregation. Without doubt it was all that then existed: he counted wisely; he knew so well the associations of which he revealed the existence, that he refused to take part in them, in order not to contract engagements contrary to his duties as a prelate and a minister. But since that period, there have been established new

little seminaries, and new great seminaries for the higher class of jesuitical studies, and *mystical associations*, similar to those which in the sixteenth century were organized in France by Jesuits and foreigners, and which *preluded* the MASSACRE of ST. BARTHOLOMEW by the MASSACRE of VASSY.

"As in the 16th century, Paris is divided into sixteen quarters, in each of which *Mont-Rouge* supports a legate. A committee of direction names its chiefs, in whom great caution and discretion are expected to form an essential characteristic. Their functions consist in the inspection of the district in which they are lodged at the expense of the order; and in distributing supplies to the indigent of the fraternity. Besides this, they fulfil a part attached to the different clubs which the congregation may have in the district, equivalent to that of attorney-general to the order.

"As in 1586, a part of the Parisian population is seduced, and individuals enrolled in the congregation without their having any knowledge of it. This association in Paris counts nine clubs of different professions.

"The order of proceeding is nearly the same in all the lodges. The sitting is opened by a

hymn to St. Ignatius; the legate afterwards pronounces a discourse on jesuitical questions, and on the progress of the league: to the legate succeeds the treasurer, who renders an account of the employment of the funds, of which the division is ordered by the committee of direction, either for religious foundations, or for relief to the members of the societies in a state of need, or for the expenses incurred with a view of increasing the number of proselytes. The profane (*les profanes*) who have been sufficiently prepared by fasts, prayers, and mortifications, or by some great undertaking commanded by the superior council, are afterwards presented and received.—A hymn of thanks to the Virgin terminates the sitting.

"The president—who is elected, as well as the members of the committee, by a plurality of voices—is furnished with a hammer instead of a bell, which he strikes on the table to re-establish order.

"An embroidered stole, of different designs, according to rank, is the only distinction of the members of the club. Entrance into each club or meeting is rigorously prohibited to any one who has not a card of admission from the congregation.

"The pupils of *Mont-Rouge* are instructed

to handle arms. Lessons in military tactics mix themselves with the exercises of the classes. Already '*des militaires de robe courte*' come out of this singular school, and serve the APOSTOLIC PARTY. The Jesuits of Paraguay organized an army, which braved for a long time the troops of Spain. The good fathers fought with the cross in one hand and the sword in the other. Perhaps we are destined, in the *nineteenth century* to see a like spectacle. This time, revolutionary blood will not be attributed to Voltaire or Rousseau. At Madrid, the reverend fathers (associates of those who now fill France with trouble and disorder) teach the military exercise to the initiated and their pupils; and in constitutional France we have secret armies, enlisted and numbered.

"*Politic Rome has in the midst of us one hundred thousand congregationists,* who meet on fixed days; who have chiefs, watchwords, numbers, and new confederates; who seem waiting for another Guy to spring the mine which they have secretly dug under the edifice of our institutions."

General Sebastiani, in an admirable speech, detailed from facts still more fully, the extraordinary ascendancy which the Jesuits had then

acquired in France, and their indefatigable perseverance in seducing the people, while they pretended not to exist as a congregation, until the Bishop of Hermopolis, the conscience-keeper of Charles X., made his forced avowal. Monachism went hand in hand with Jesuitism. "The *Freres Ignorantins*," as he termed the congregation, "propagated their influence by the instruction of both sexes, rendering themselves masters of infancy, by exacting from it oaths, of which parental authority cannot pierce the mystery."

The revolution of 1830 drove the Jesuits again from France. They established themselves in a vast college in Freiburg, Switzerland. Many followed the Bishop of Hermopolis and Charles X. to the Austrian dominions, where the great hope of their permanent and powerful re-establishment now centres.

I cannot as yet believe that those arch evil-doers will succeed. The Chancellor of the Empire is far too sagacious not to perceive the mischief they would disseminate throughout the land. Let them once get but a firm footing, and they will in reality prove the dangerous Secret Society. Prince Metternich may then well say "*after me the Deluge!*"

LETTER XVI.

SUPERSTITION.

Among the people instruction to a certain extent, which I will explain in giving you a sketch of the state of education, is diffused in every parish; but that instruction is far from sufficient to clear their vision so as to enable them to see through the mists of superstition. The consequence is, that pilgrimages and processions to the shrines of saints, most of whom were put down by Joseph, but restored by Francis, are now nearly as frequent as in the fifteenth century.

Prague has, since the extinction of the reforms begun by Jerome and John Huss, been the great centre of that devotional folly, which exhibits poor human nature in its most self-degrading aspects.

Holy John of Nepomucene, the patron saint of Bohemia—the fructifier, as he is termed, of barren women—and, the protector of bridges, in gratitude for being thrown over one, and drowned in the Moldau, is the great object of superstitious veneration. Holy John was the confessor of *some queen* (it is not agreed who) in the fourteenth century. He was required by the magistrates of Prague to reveal certain plots of which her majesty was accused, but persisting, like an honest priest, in keeping her secret, the *Obers-burg-graf* ordered his tongue to be cut out, and John to be thrown over the bridge into the river. Both were miraculously discovered, and quite uncorrupted, three hundred years after. In 1729 John was canonized—his tongue, which still bleeds, placed in a gold and glass case—and his body preserved in a silver sarcophagus, weighing four hundred pounds, which was hidden when Bonaparte robbed the cathedral of its then massive and rich treasures. His image adorns and sanctifies the bridge, and his feast is celebrated on the 10th of May. The shrine, statue, and ceremonials, were restored to all their *pristine* splendour by the late emperor, who came to Prague on the occasion; and, kneeling before

the image on the bridge, offered up his devotions among tens of thousands of his subjects. This was politic, if not pious.

During the festival of Holy John, Prague is crowded by pilgrims from all parts of Bohemia. The great open square is transformed into one immense refectory for feeding them. The people crawl on their knees, and kiss the earth before the image—the bridge is adorned with wreaths and garlands of flowers—there are processions, masses, and offerings. The Virgin, and all other saints are entirely forgotten, in their adoration of Holy John, who would certainly be melted into compassion for them, if his heart were not, as that on the bridge certainly is, made of stone.

The procession of the Virgin, the image of which, dressed in gaudy tinsel trappings, with a gold crown on the head, is another of those parades which engage the superstitious enthusiasm of all Bohemia. This image is made to traverse the country from Heilegenberg (Holy Mountain), Brandeis, Friedek, and all spots of miraculous reputation. Vast multitudes accompany it. The priests carry the image from their own church to that of the next parish, where they are relieved by another relay of

ecclesiastics, until all the holy places are visited and reconsecrated by this deplorable exhibition of a great lewd-like representation of a woman's figure in tawdry finery.

In the archduchy of Austria, the pilgrimage which enjoys the greatest celebrity, since its revival, is that annually to Mariazell. As I have not witnessed this spectacle of devotion myself, and as I am made to understand that Mr. Russell's picture of it, although somewhat too dramatic, is perfectly just in its general features, I extract it for you.

"The superstition of the people is even fostered by the government encouraging pompous pilgrimages, for the purpose of obtaining the blessing of heaven by walking fifty miles in hot weather. The favoured spot is Mariazell, in Styria, and the pageant is commonly played off in July or August. The imperial authority is interposed by a proclamation affixed to the great gate of St. Stephen's, authorizing all pious subjects to perform this mischievous act of holy vagabondizing, that they may implore from the Virgin such personal and domestic boons as they feel themselves most inclined to, and, at all events, that they may supplicate continued prosperity to the house of Hapsburg. On the

appointed day, the intended pilgrims assemble in St. Stephen's, at four o'clock in the morning; most of them have been anxiously accumulating many a day's savings, to collect a few florins for the journey, for they generally do not return before the fourth day. Mass is performed, and the long motley line, consisting of both sexes and all ages, separated into divisions by religious standards and gaudy crucifixes, alternately cheered and sanctified by the trumpets and kettle-drums which head each division, and the hymns chanted by the pilgrims who compose it, wends its long, toilsome, and hilly way into the mountains of Styria. The procession which I saw leave Vienna consisted of nearly three thousand persons, and they were all of the lower classes. The upper ranks do not choose to go to heaven in vulgar company; and, if they visit Mariazell at all, they make it a pleasure-jaunt (for the place of pilgrimage lies in a most romantic country), like an excursion to the lakes of Scotland or Cumberland, and pray to the Virgin *en passant*. Females predominated; there were many children, and some of them so young, that it seemed preposterous to produce them in such a fatiguing exhibition. The young women were numerous, and naturally were the

most interesting objects. Many of them were pretty, but they were almost all barefooted, both from economy, and for the sake of ease in travelling. Observant of the pilgrim's costume, they carried long staffs, headed with nosegays, and wore coarse straw-bonnets, with enormous brims, intended to protect their beauties against the scorching sun—unaware, perhaps, of the more fatally destructive enemy, who, ere this perilous journey is terminated, cuts down, in too many instances, the foundation of that pleasing modesty with which they pace forth to the performance of what they reckon a holy duty. Joseph II. saw and knew all the mischief of the ceremony, and abolished the pilgrimage; Francis I. restored and fostered it.

"At the flourishing monastery of Lilienfeld, the whole train of pilgrims are refreshed with a great benediction, and a little plate of soup.

"The whole road, as far as Mariazell, the first Styrian town, and the holy abode of an ugly picture of the Virgin, is much more thickly strewed with emblems of believing piety, and conveniences for devout worshippers, than with the marks of civic industry and comfort—for it is the line of the great pilgrimage from Vienna. Every valley which the pilgrims have to tra-

verse is crowded with saints and virgins, and every hill across which they toil is surmounted with a chapel or a saviour. But even pilgrims cannot dispense with temporal restoratives, and brandy-booths refresh the votaries of the Madonna as frequently as her own image. The Annaberg, or mountain of St. Anne, is at once the steepest ascent which they have to climb, and the most romantic spot in this part of Styria. The rocks press together so closely, and the wood entangles itself so thickly round the mountain path, that, at every turn, it seems impossible to emerge from the dell in which you have been caught; but, on reaching the apparently extreme point of your progress, the road turns sharply round some angle of the mountain, and leads you, amid sparkling streams and overhanging rocks, into another dell of the same sort, till the summit of the hill itself appears, crowned with its ancient cloister. The pilgrims always ascend this eminence chanting hymns; the young women allow their hair to hang down loose over their shoulders, dropping, not with myrrh, but with perspiration; and the more laboriously pious add to the sum of their good works by dragging after them a cumbersome cross. At the foot of

the hill there is a chapel in which they may pray, and, opposite to it, a brandy-shop to quicken the body. Their devotions are renewed in another chapel on the summit, but the spring which it contains supplies only water. It is the most profanely grotesque of all fountains. It is formed by a rude image of the dying Messiah lying on the lap of his mother; an iron pipe is inserted into the wound in his side, and the pure stream issues from it.

"The nearer you approach to the holy city itself, the greater is the number of drinking-booths and beggars; for the pilgrimage is often made a pretext for mendicity, and people who would not stoop to ask alms on other occasions, reckon it no disgrace to seek the aid of charity in observing the rites of their superstition. The first object that met the eye on passing the boundary from Austria into Styria, was a board, announcing an express prohibition against begging, and right under it sat an old woman begging.

"If there be any member of the Catholic church who will really maintain that it is better for the community that the hard-earned gains of these poor people should be consumed in a distant pilgrimage, which, moreover, is often

accompanied with much immorality, than that they should be expended in adding to their domestic comforts, he is as far beyond the reach of argument, as the observances of his church are, in this instance, beyond the reach of respect.

"Mariazell would not be worth visiting, were it not for the celebrity which it has acquired as a place of pilgrimage, and the residence of a holy influence, which, till this day, is working more frequent, and astonishing, and undeniable miracles, than even Prince Hohenlohe. The town is small and mean-looking; it consists, in fact, principally of inns and ale-houses, to accommodate the perpetual influx of visiters, which never ceases all the year round, except when snow has rendered the mountains impassable. The immense size of the beds in these hostelries, show at once to how many inconveniences the pious are willing to submit. The pilgrims, however, who can pretend to the luxury of a bed, are few in number; above all, during the time that the annual procession from Vienna is on the spot, it is not possible that the greater part of the crowd can be able to find lodgings, and, though there were accommodations, no small portion of them are too poor to pay for

it. These, from necessity, and many others from less justifiable motives, spend the night in the neighbouring woods; both sexes are intermingled, and, till morning dawns, they continue drinking and singing songs, which are any thing but hymns of devotion. Fighting used to be the order of the night, so long as the procession from Grätz (which, likewise, is always a numerous one) performed the pilgrimage at the same time with that from Vienna. The women of Grätz are celebrated for their beauty all over the empire, and the young females of Vienna have their full share of personal attractions. When the two companies met at Mariazell, the men were uniformly engaged, at last, in determining by blows the charms of their respective fair ones, or deciding who was best entitled to enjoy their smiles. It was found necessary to put a stop to this public scandal, by ordering the pilgrimages to take place at different times.

"The church, which is the centre of all this devotion and irregularity, has nothing to recommend its antiquity, and the picture to which it owes its fame. The latter, is just one of those modern Greek paintings which are so common in Italy, and which are there ascribed, by the believing multitude, to the pencil of the apostle

Luke. The maiden-mother holds the holy infant in her arms, but both are so covered with silver, that only the heads are allowed to be seen. An irruption of the Tartars had driven a Styrian priest to save himself by flight, and he carried along with him this Madonna, the only ornament of his rude church. As he wandered for safety through this mountainous region, a light suddenly burst from heaven, and the Madonna herself, descending on the clouds with her infant son, in the very same attitude in which she was represented in the picture, ordered him to hang it up on a tree which she pointed out, and sent him forth to proclaim to the world that, through it, her ear would ever be open. On the spot where the tree stood, the church was afterwards built. As the fame of the miracles soon spread over all Germany, and as they were frequently performed in behalf of princes, the altars of Mariazell have been crowded for more than eight hundred years, and its treasury continued to overflow with gold and silver, and precious stones, till Joseph removed part of its riches into the imperial exchequer. Maria Theresa had hung up, as a votive offering, figures in silver of herself and all her family—the unnatural son melted down

his mother, and brothers, and sisters, and carried his profanity so far as to subject to a similar process the four angels, of the same costly metal, who guarded the high altar. The treasury of Mariazell used to be reckoned the richest in Europe, after that of Loretto; and, as in the latter, the renewed devotion of the faithful is again restoring its lost splendour.

"In the centre of the gloomy church stands a small and dark chapel, dimly lighted up by a single lamp, whose ray is eclipsed by the glare of precious stones and metals that are profusely scattered within. A silver railing guards the entrance, and around this costly fence knelt the crowded worshippers, supplicating their various boons from the holy picture within, which they can scarcely see. Behind the chapel rises an insulated pillar, surmounted by a stone image of the Virgin. It was surmounted by a double circle of pilgrims. The inner circle consisted of females; they were all on their knees, in silent adoration. The outer circle contained only men; they had no such devotion either in their looks or attitude, and stood by, carelessly leaning on their staffs."

I do not allude to these superstitions as being especially peculiar to the Austrian dominions,

for superstition is common among every nation on earth wherever ignorance dwells. Not long since, on occasion of erecting a crucifix in a country church in France, the bishop and priests fell down on their knees in adoration, exclaiming that they beheld the true cross in the heavens. The multitude fell down immediately after, and all, but a few unbelievers, declared that they also saw the holy phenomenon.

The few incredulous persons who did not see with the eyes of faith, declared that they could only behold a cloud; but the bishop, and hundreds of the multitude, signed a certificate of having witnessed the appearance of an immense wooden cross floating in the sky; and this attestation was forwarded by a sacred deputation, appointed by the jesuit Bishop of Hermopolis to Rome. The pope received the deputation, and the proofs of this modern miracle, with holy honours. The miracle of the chapel and the tree, was next announced by all the priests in France. A venerable tree, which stood before a chapel, was purchased and paid for by a carpenter, who sent some of his journeymen to fell it; but they had no sooner

attacked it with their hatchets, than birds and nondescripts of hideous forms appeared on the branches, and assailed them with screeching cries, and, descending, pecked at the workmen, until they ran off in terror to their master's dwelling. The carpenter, who was none of the faithful, laughed at his men, and swore he would certainly have the tree, as he had paid for it. But mark the consequence—he sallied forth a sinner, and returned a saint! On reaching the chapel, he commenced without his workmen, to cut down the tree; when, lo! on the first stroke being given, the birds and other winged monsters appeared, and flew, screaming, at the carpenter and his men. He however, enraged, ordered his workmen to cut away; when, on the second stroke, to the terror of the infidel carpenter, the tree opened, exhibiting the blessed Saviour, in flesh and blood, nailed to the cross.

The unbeliever fell down in adoration—the tree closed—and he returned to his house repenting of his iniquity, and firmly established in the faith. An account of this miracle was also sent to Rome by the same bishop.

But this monstrosity is scarcely behind the

age in which a man of the genius of Chateaubriand, I do not say his education, for that unfortunately for him was jesuitical, carried water from the river Jordan, which he presented to be used, as it was, for the coronation of Charles X.

Let us not, however, accuse Catholics alone of superstition. What are the *revivals* of Massachusetts,—the extravagances of camp meetings,—the Southcottonian belief in England,—the intemperance of the *holy fairs* of Scotland formerly,—the fanataciams of the parliamentary sabbath-bill framer, but superstitions, which make us exclaim as we hear of, or witness them, Alas, poor weak human nature!

The fanatic of Erlangan, in Germany, who lately, in order to imitate Abraham, sacrificed his son, and the perpetrator of another sacrifice soon after in Würtemberg, were Protestants; so were the young women who crucified themselves a few years ago in Switzerland. These gloomy mental aberrations are now infatuating many of the protestant districts of North Germany. The sacrifice at Dunningen, in Würtemberg, was committed by a man on a wife whom he tenderly loved. She declared, that by her death her family were destined to expiate the

sins of mankind; and she accordingly persuaded her husband, who was equally infatuated, to strangle her. He did so, and next morning presented himself, attended by his two children, to the curate of the parish, and declared his crime.

LETTER XVII.

EDUCATION.

I BELIEVE there is no subject relative to the Austrian dominions of which we have a more erroneous idea than the actual state of education. Wise and intelligent as we may consider ourselves as a nation, in England, I fear that as far as the mere diffusion of elementary instruction is in question, that we are in a more destitute condition than any country in Europe, except Spain, Portugal, the western and some central departments of France, and, perhaps, the serfs and peasantry of a portion of Hungary and Russia.

I am not about to advocate the plan of public instruction in the Austrian states, far from it: neither do I exactly admire the ad-

ministrative system of education in Prussia and the other German states, which has been so highly extolled by M. Cousin and others, and so furiously abused in the very extraordinary, and in most parts admirable speech of that very sleepless spirit Lord Brougham.

In Prussia and all North Germany, Bavaria, Würtemberg and Baden, every child above seven years of age is not only instructed, but very usefully and extensively instructed, although the course of education is entirely calculated, rather to render the pupils and students tranquil subjects than high-minded citizens.

In a word, great benefits will inevitably result from the diffusion of knowledge through the medium of the established system of education in Prussia; but we must not forget, that the *course* of instruction, the books to be read, and the administration of the colleges and schools are under the absolute direction and control of the supreme government, through its organ the minister of public instruction at Berlin. The same principle pervades all the states of the Germanic confederation; and the same spirit as fully, and with perhaps greater scrutiny, and with more limitation as to the

course of instruction, pervades the whole system of education throughout the Austrian dominions, with the exception of Hungary.

The late absolute resolutions of the German Diet apply, in fact, to North and South Germany, Bohemia, and Lombardo-Venetia.*

The foundation of elementary instruction in Austria was first laid in the early part of the last century; and soon after, about one in twenty-five of the inhabitants were taught to read. Joseph II. directed his energies to the instruction of youth; but the clergy, high and low, opposed him, and, after his death, succeeded in establishing generally their own plan of educating children.

The government has, however, taken special care that the priests should not have the control over public instruction; and the law of 1821, consequent to that of 1819, in Prussia, directs that no village in the hereditary dominions shall be without an elementary school—that no male can enter the marriage state who is not able to read, write, and understand cast-

* These resolutions state the obligations under which pupils and students may enter the schools and universities of Germany.

ing up accounts—that no master of any trade can, without paying a heavy penalty, employ workmen who are not able to read and write—and that small books of moral tendency shall be published and distributed at the lowest possible price to all the emperor's subjects.

The provisions of this law appear to me to have been very generally put in force: for I have nowhere in Austria met with any one under thirty years of age who was not able to read and write, and I have found cheap publications, chiefly religious and moral tracts,—almanacks, very much like "Poor Richard's," containing, with tables of the months, moon's age, sun's rising and setting, the fasts, feasts, holidays, markets and fairs in the empire—and opposite to the page of each month, appropriate advice relative to husbandry and rural economy, with moral sayings and suitable maxims.

Besides these, and several small elementary books and periodicals, the *Penny Magazine* is now very generally circulated in Austria. M. Fleischer, the intelligent and spirited bookseller

* Austria seems resolved not to be behind Prussia in diffusing instruction, and lately has shown, especially in religious matters, much greater liberality; especially as respects the Jews.

of Leipzig, having managed to procure stereotypes of the wooden cuts of the London edition, republishes the work in German, and strikes off about 38,000 copies for Austria alone. A *Heller* magazine, published also at Leipzig, is likewise very generally circulated. The spirit of elementary instruction, if not the most enlightened, inculcates in every step morality—the advantage and happiness of a virtuous life—the evils of vice, and the misery consequent on crime.

I have found no difficulty in procuring statistical returns of the colleges and schools of the empire: from these it appears that, in the eight universities established in the archduchy of Austria, Bohemia, Galicia, Moravia, Tyrol, Styria, and the Italian provinces, viz., Vienna—Prague, in Bohemia—Lemburg, in Galicia—Olmutz, in Moravia—Inspruck, in the Tyrol—Grätz, in Styria—and Pavia and Padua in the Italian states, there exists 54 philosophical foundations, with 334 professors, and attended by 7680 students; 55 theological (Catholic), 326 professors, 6120 students; 16 medicine, 150 professors, 4679 students; 1 (Vienna) veterinary, 6 professors, with assistants; and 8 jurisprudence, 57 professors, 3228 pupils.

Taking the population of the Austrian domi-

nions, exclusive of Hungary and Transylvania (of which I will speak separately), at 22,500,000, I find that there are 25,121 national elementary schools, divided into first and second classes of primary schools, with 10,280 ecclesiastical, and 22,082 lay teachers. In these schools 2,313,420 children are instructed in reading, writing, and accounts; that is, rather more than one in ten of the whole population. Besides these, there are numerous private schools and institutions. Cannabich gives, for 1835, the following statement:

"Exclusive of nine universities (including Pesth), there are 23 Catholic lyceums and academies; 1 Illyrian lyceum, 4 Lutheran lyceums and colleges, 7 reformed colleges, 1 Unitarian college, 20 Catholic theological, 1 Protestant theological, and 15 high philosophical foundations; 230 preparatory (*vorbereitenden*) gymnasia (of which 6 are high gymnasia in Hungary,) besides special common schools (*volkschulen*) in the classes of primary, secondary, and practical schools: also burgher schools, and the military, and *forest* institutes—veterinary schools—blind and deaf and dumb institutes at Vienna, Prague, Linz, Waitzen, &c.—schools of hydrography and trades—the polytechnic institutes at Vienna

and Prague—the medical and chirurgical academy at Vienna; to which has been added the optical museum of M. Reichenbach—14 normal high schools—57 special institutions for female education—and 4 communities of instruction; besides numerous scientific societies at Vienna, Pesth, Prague, Milan," &c.

The inhabitants of Lombardo-Venetia and Lower-Austria are the most generally educated, among whom I think that *one* in *eight* must be receiving instruction.*

The universities of Vienna and Padua rank

* In Prussia, the population, in 1833, was 13,038,960. The primary schools 21,889, the number of boys instructed 987,475, girls 950,459—total 1,937,934, or rather more than *one* in *seven* of the whole number of inhabitants. The whole of these training schools were then directed by 22,211 schoolmasters, 2014 ushers, and 604 schoolmistresses.

The normal schools, or schools to prepare masters, were 42; professors, 219; students, 1992.

In the seven universities of the Prussian monarchy there were belonging to the several faculties 332 professors, and 5423 students; of the latter 792 were foreigners.

In the 140 *Hoheren Bürger-Schulen* and *Gymnasia*, there were 1534 professors, 27,461 students; and in 481 *Mittel-Schulen* (or secondary schools for boys), and 372 for girls, there were 1172 masters, and 360 assistants, who taught altogether 56,879 boys, and 46,598 girls. Besides all these institutions for instruction, there is an academy for cadets at Berlin, and numerous military seminaries.

first among those of the empire. The salaries of the professors are, at the former, and I believe at all the universities, paid by government, and the professors are not allowed to take fees on their own account, nor to deliver lectures, except in their respective colleges. The theological, surgical, and veterinary courses, are free to the students; but a fee is exacted for attending lectures on philosophy, medicine, and jurisprudence. These fees are appropriated towards the maintenance of indigent students. The whole course of lectures are read in the German language, excepting some deviations in respect to theology and physic. The philosophic course is contemptible as to its being so termed, and false and obscure in the premises, reasoning, and limits. Divinity, consisting of the dogmas of the church and the writings of the fathers, is as laudable in the way of inculcating its principles and doctrines as that of the church of England is at Oxford, or that of Calvin at Geneva or Edinburgh. For medicine, surgery, mathematics—especially algebra and geometry, and the positive sciences generally — Vienna and the Austrian colleges and gymnasia generally, are certainly excellent schools. The study of history—that is, Austrian history—is obliga-

tory on all preparatory to taking degrees in law or philosophy, and ancient history, on those who are to become teachers.

Of the 230 gymnasia, 201 are Catholic, 25 Lutheran, two Greek, and one Unitarian. Jews and Protestants are admitted, without regard to opinion, into the Catholic gymnasium and other schools. The grammatical and philological classes in the gymnasia are said to be fully deserving of approbation.

The Polytechnic institute at Vienna, which I have visited with great satisfaction, and to which a (*real-schule*) school of practical knowledge is attached, fully justifies the celebrity it has acquired and the great cost expended in its establishment. It has 33 professors and 750 pupils. It contains all necessary mechanical and astronomical instruments and publications, maps, and two extensive chemical laboratories, with preparations. Indigent scholars are also assisted with allowances of from 40 to 200 florins per annum. Mechanical science and chemistry, mathematics, arts, trade, and manufactures are admirably directed under the assiduous superintendence of counsellor Prechtl.

There is a new academy of sciences, in contemplation at least, to be established, and I

must certainly say, that if any one, however poor, does not receive instruction and gather knowledge, in Vienna, it must be entirely attributed to his own indolence. I must at the same time observe, that there are very few towns in Europe in which a man is less disposed to study profoundly. Nor is there the same causes to excite to emulation, nor the same necessity to compel a man to labour and study as in England, or northern Germany.

Vienna is filled with institutions and libraries. It is ridiculous to say, that the materials of knowledge and the means of instruction are wanting; for you may get any work published in Leipzig, London, or Paris, here, a few days after they appear originally, and also reprints of the leading English and French works.*

The accusation, repeated without due inquiry, of the study of civil history being disallowed in Germany and Austria is equally unjust, as the ungrateful opinion given by the Duke of

* There are forty-five public and private libraries, to which there is free access; fifteen mineralogical museums, twenty of zoology and anatomy, twenty-three of antiquities, heraldry, and scientific apparatus and instruments, and twenty of medals, &c., besides numerous galleries of paintings, public and private.

Wellington of the Prussian army. It was probably more than fortunate for his grace's reputation that the soldiers of Prussia falsified at Waterloo what he afterwards said of the best disciplined troops in the world. But there are some men who are always successful when they act, but who seldom open their mouths without uttering foolish expressions.

Nations have their sensibilities and their points of honour as well as individuals. I was in North Germany at the time when the Duke of Wellington gave his ill-natured and inhuman opinion of the Prussians, and when Lord Brougham made his remarks on the system of public instruction. I had also the honour and happiness of numbering among my friends learned professors and distinguished military officers, and certainly they were indignant at being so ungenerously calumniated by a distinguished warrior, and also by so transcendent and useful, although eccentric, man of learning and genius.

"I have inquired," said Lord Brougham, "of well informed foreigners, not certainly in France, if, in addition to a little natural history and mineralogy, the children were not allowed to learn civil history also? The answer was,

'No, *that is forbidden*;' and in certain countries, seats of legitimacy, it may not without risk be taught. So that the pupils learn the history of a stone, of a moss, of a rush, of a weed; but the history of their own country, the deeds of their forefathers, the annals of neighbouring nations they must not read. They are not to gain the knowledge most valuable to the community. History, the school of princes, must present closed doors to their subjects; the great book of civil wisdom must, to them, be sealed. For why? There are some of its chapters, and near the latter end of the volume, which it is convenient they should not peruse. Civil history, indeed! the history of rulers! why that would tell of rights usurped—of privileges outraged—of faith plighted and broken—of promises made under the pressure of foreign invasion, and for giving the people's aid to drive back the invading usurper and tyrant; but made to be broken when, by the arm of that deluded people, that conqueror had been repelled, the old dynasty restored, and when it only remembered the invader and the tyrant to change places with him, and far outdo his worst deeds in oppressing their subjects and plundering their neighbours! History, indeed!

That would tell of scenes enacted at their own doors — an ancient, independent, inoffensive people overcome, pillaged, massacred, and enslaved, by the conspiracy of those governments which are now teaching their subjects the history of the grasses, and the mosses, and the weeds; tell them that the bible and the liturgy were profaned which they are now commanded to read, and the Christian temples where they are weekly led to worship, were desecrated by blasphemous thanksgivings for the success of massacre and pillage! It would tell them of monarchs, who live but to tyrannize at home and usurp abroad, who hold themselves unsafe as long as a free man is suffered to exist; who count the years of their reign by just rights outraged and solemn pledges forfeited. Monarchs who, if ever, by strange accident, the sun goes not down upon their wrath, exclaim that they have lost a day; monarchs who wear a human form and think nothing inhuman alien to their nature. No wonder, indeed, that civil history *is* forbidden in the schools of those countries! The tyrant cannot tear from the book, the page which records his own crimes and the world's sufferings, and he seals it up from the people."

Now it would be easy to show that, as far as annals of civil history are in question, this *ad captandum* rhapsody is quite as applicable to England, as to the countries against which its wrath is discharged—Austria and Prussia. Nor will it be contended that Francis of Austria, or Frederick William III., have, during their lives, been more characterized by acts of public or private tyranny than the prince, in opposition to whom Lord Brougham owes so great a share of his popular celebrity; a prince whose personal reputation, and whose usefulness, as the first magistrate of an empire containing 24,000,000 of people at home, and countless millions in his possessions, would be indeed deserving a praiseworthy place in history, if his life had been distinguished by the public and household economy, and still more so by the domestic virtues and morality of Francis and Frederick.

So far from the study of history being prohibited in Austria, it is insisted upon in various courses of instruction as a qualification: and as to the reading of history, you find the libraries and book-shops crammed with historical and biographical works, many of them reflecting fearlessly on the government and

emperors of Austria.* Von Hormayer's *Taschenbuch für das Vaterland Greschichte*, lately published and distributed all over Austria and Prussia, is an elementary history of Germany, very similar to Goldsmith's England.

The number of historical works published at Leipzig, are countless; and they all find their way to Vienna, with or without the pleasure of the minister of police and censorship, M. Sedelnitzky.

Having said so much to show the fallacy of the opinion entertained in England, that civil history is prohibited in the states of Austria and North Germany, I will now prove to your satisfaction how much more than the "history of the stones, the grasses, the mosses, and the weeds," is taught.

In the Protestant theological college (*studium*) Vienna, there are imperial allowances of from 50 to 100 florins a year given to indigent students. In this college, in three gymnasia, —in two public high schools with four classes,

* Among these are Schneller's History of Bohemia,—Müller's History of Switzerland,—and even Palacky's History (the first volume of which has appeared) although published at the expense of the government;—also Ledderhose's Life of Martin Luther,—the History of the Council of Constance,—the Life of Wallenstein, &c.

—and in the eleven public high schools, with three classes, civil history occupies a full share of the course of studies. In 59 elementary schools (*trivial schulen*), the elements of history are read, with moral lessons, by the pupils. Besides these, to whom all are admitted, there are several private elementary schools, some of which are for girls of the Catholic faith,—others for girls of the Jewish profession,—and some for Protestant pupils. Then there is the institute for educating and maintaining the daughters of *decayed* civilians; and another for the daughters of military officers. Also two institutions (*convictes*) for more liberal and accomplished instruction: first, the Royal Imperial; and the other, called by its founder's name, "*Gräfe Loweburg' sches Convict.*"

The medical-chirurgical academy, named, "*Die medicinisch-chirurgishe Joseph's Akademie,*" founded by the Emperor Joseph in 1785, chiefly with a view of providing the army with skilful physicians and surgeons, is one of the best schools for medicine and surgery in Europe. The collections of natural history,—the preparations illustrative of chemistry and *materia-medica*, dry and wet,—and especially

the anatomical preparations in wax, occupying seven large rooms, the finest in regard to execution, and the most extensive in variety and number in the world. The library, instruments, &c., render this one of the most convenient and interesting schools for the medical or surgical student.

The engineer academy, at the head of which is the Archduke John, is justly celebrated for its instruction in arithmetic, algebra, geometry, mechanics, and all that relates to the profession of the civil and military engineer.

The *Ritter Akademie*, founded by Maria Theresa, was intended by her for a scientific and equestrian school for all young catholic noblemen. Joseph and Francis extended it on a far more liberal plan. The humanities, history, philosophy, and sciences generally, are taught here. There is attached to it a large botanical garden, and also an admirable riding-school. It has 65 imperial and 83 private foundations for maintaining students. Ludwig Graf Von Taafer, is curator of this academy.

The imperial academy for oriental languages, "*Akademie der Morgenländischen Sprachen*," was also founded by Maria Theresa, but extended and greatly improved since her time.

The course of studies are for five years; and one of its objects, among others, is to prepare men for eastern diplomacy and consular service in Turkey, the Levant, and other parts of the East; the languages, the history, and the commerce of which, form chiefly the course of studies. It has an extensive collection of oriental manuscripts.

Exclusive of these schools, the libraries, museums, and collections, especially those of the university, of the emperor, of Egyptian and other antiquities, of the imperial gallery of paintings, of medals and moneys, of the Brazilian museum (the result of a scientific expedition sent to South America in 1817), of raw materials and manufactures, all afford *free* opportunities to all classes to learn much from instructive subjects in nature and art.

Besides numerous institutions, as hospitals and charitable foundations to relieve distressed humanity, for which Vienna may very honestly be proud,* there are several societies for promoting usefulness, as well as the embellishment

* The institutes for the deaf and dumb, for the blind, for orphans, for orphans and widows, the pension institute, and the sustenance house, are some of about forty-five institutions which provide for the unfortunate.

of society. Among these are the *k. k. Landwirthschafts-Gesellschaft*, or Imperial and Royal Agricultural Society, of which Peter Graf von Göess is president.

The Society of the Lovers of Music for the Austrian states, of which Augustus Prince Lobkowitz is president, is famous for its concerts, and the encouragement it holds out to musical aspirants. In connexion with this society, 20 professors are provided for, and 300 pupils, boys and girls, taught gratis, vocal and instrumental music. This society has an excellent library, in the splendid edifice at which its meetings assemble.

The Society of Noble Ladies, for the furtherance of industry and usefulness, was formed to encourage industrious persons, by purchasing the articles they make for the use, gratis, of the blind, deaf, and dumb orphans, and the hospital for the sick at Baden, &c.

The Society of Arts, for the encouragement of natural artists (Kunstverein zur Aufmunterung Vaterlandischer Künster) was founded, like that of Munich, by a capital of shares, five florins each, and afterwards maintained by subscription. The paintings exhibited, approved

of, and purchased, are sold afterwards by auction to the subscribers, or divided by lot.

There is a society or jockey club for regulating the horse-races at Simmeringer (Gesellschaft der Simmeringer Pferdrennen), but it has also in view encouraging improvement in the breeding of horses.

Having now given you, what you will very likely consider a tedious, but what in reality is a very slight sketch of the seminaries of education, and of a few of the useful institutions in Vienna, I must conclude the letter by adverting briefly to some of the universities and schools in the other states of the empire.

The university of Pesth was removed from Ofen in 1784, by Joseph. The large and accumulating revenues of the abbey of Foeldevar having been added to its foundation, it has for some time been by far the most richly endowed university on the continent of Europe. Its revenue is stated at about 600,000 florins, or 60,000*l.* per annum, and it maintains a great number of indigent scholars, and 1020 candidates for the priesthood, as well as 306 students. It has 10 professors of theology, 74 of physic, 14 of philosophy, seven of law, and one each of the German, Hungarian, Italian,

and French languages. English is to be, I hear, added. The number of pupils have more than doubled during the last twenty years. There is no distinction as to creed observed in regard to admission. In 1835, the pupils were 1172 Catholics; 253 Protestants, 261 Jews, 84 Greeks—in all 1770. Besides maintaining a preparatory ecclesiastical seminary, an *archi-gymnasium*, of six classes, and about 3600 district grammar and elementary schoolmasters, are aided or supported from the funds of this university.

At Prague, Grätz, Maria-Brun, seminaries are also maintained on a very respectable foundation. The *Johanneum*, or Technical seminary of Grätz, the institute of Prague, the imperial institute of Maria-Brun (chiefly for science, connected with the management of forests), are all highly spoken of.

In the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, we find that the course of instruction at the university of Pavia, the talents and learning of the professors, and the provision made in aid of instruction, renders that seat of instruction among the very first in Europe, especially for classical studies, medical science, universal history, Austrian history. Rural economy, archaiology, he-

raldry, numismatics, German language, Greek philology, history of philosophy, architecture, hydrometry, &c., are added to the usual courses. There is no theological faculty at Pavia; at Padua there is.

There are twelve Lycea for secondary instruction distributed in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom; besides two classes, first and second, of primary schools. There are thirty-five female seminaries or colleges, several of which are under the special direction of the Ursuline and Salisiane sisters. Besides all these, infant and Sunday schools are very general in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom; and even in the Tyrol, I was astonished to find elementary instruction in a far more advanced state than I was prepared to expect.

Considering the great importance which I attribute to the influence of useful education, in rendering mankind more virtuous, more industrious, and more happy—better neighbours, and more agreeable and orderly members of all communities, you will forgive the length to which that great object has extended this letter.

LETTER XVIII.

LITERATURE AND MEN OF GENIUS.

NOTWITHSTANDING all I have advanced in my last letter relative to the diffusion of public instruction, and the facilities of acquiring knowledge, I am unable, as far as literature and men of genius are in question, to say much that will rescue Austria from the designation long given her of the "German Boetia." Not but that men of natural genius are born in Austria; for undoubtedly there are many individuals of great practical talent. Musical genius, Vienna at least claims: but, from whatever cause, *genius* in literature, poetry, philosophy, and the higher casts of intellectual conception and creation, does not certainly shine forth resplendently in Austria.

The celebrated names of Germany,—Lessing, Bach, Kant, Fichte, Kepler, Jacobi, Schleiermacher, Michaelis, Mendelssohn, Schelling, Werner, Klopstock, Göethe, Schiller, the two Schlegels, Fieck, Herder, Gessner, Gellert, Bodmer, Breitenger, Jean Paul Richter, Voss, Prüsger, Matthisohn, Körner, Müller the historian, Schulz, Tiedge, Klinger, Stolberg, Görres, Gentz, Jarke, Heine, Börne, Hardenberg or Novalis, W. Müller, Rükerst, Schwab, Klüst, Immerman, Raupach, Hoffman, Zchokke, Uhland, Iffland, and the Humboldts, were not one of them born or educated in the Austrian dominions. North and central Germany gave birth to them all except Bodmer, Breitenger, and Müller, who were born in German Switzerland.

Yet, as far as the government is in question, there is nothing to *discourage* genius, if political writings affecting that government, be kept out of question. Frederick Schlegel, Iffland, Körner, and others, have been led to Vienna, and patronized to a certain extent by the government. Gentz was ennobled, and Jarcke placed in an office of confidential dignity.

There is, however, no enthusiasm in regard to genius and literature, as there is in North

Germany. To the abundant means of living,—to the greater ease, and to the consequent greater indolence, must, I fear, be attributed the state, certainly below mediocrity, of literature, and, as far as known to the public, of genius, in Austria.

In the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, poetry, belles lettres, and history, are very generally cultivated by writers of genius and learning. They do so, because they, like most educated Italians, find pleasure and even repose in those charming and enlightening studies. Bohemia may also boast of some men, who, although little known, are entitled to fair, but not voluminous, literary reputation. In Hungary there appears to me a still greater promise of rising genius among the people: there they may write and speak with a freedom not exactly tolerated in other parts of the empire.

In the Austrian dominions, generally, with the exception of Lombardo-Venetia, those who read either for information or amusement, rely upon the intellectual produce of other lands, of which there is a great abundance supplied by Leipzig, Stuttgard, and Paris.

I am not positive whether I am perfectly just in my opinion, but as far as I have been

able to discover and read, I have seen nothing original from the Vienna press, except the novels of Caroline Pichler, and some scientific books, worthy of any pretensions to genius or talent.

There are a few dramatic writers who may claim more favourable consideration; but their writings are ephemeral, and pass away almost as soon as represented.

M. Balbi, of Venice, the author of several excellent geographical and statistical works, published chiefly, with little profit to him, in Paris, was invited by the Austrian government to settle in Vienna. A pension, to enable him to prosecute his labours unembarrassed, has been settled upon him; and he tells me that he is left perfectly free to write and publish such works as he may labour to produce. Those on which that indefatigable author is now engaged are purely statistical.

The Encyclopædia of the Austrian Empire, appearing in parts of about 200 closely-printed octavo pages, 24 parts of which are published, contains statistical, scientific, historical, and biographical information, very satisfactorily compiled, relative to all the imperial dominions.

Theological works, written in a barbarous

style—elementary books of instruction—works on mathematical science, medicine, surgery, chemistry, military science, and plays, are those which now appear as original or as reprinted publications from the Vienna press.

Scientific men, especially physicians, complain that the Austrian government holds out no encouragement as the Russian and Prussian governments do, to talent and genius. This may be true, for the cabinet of St. Petersburg dignifies priests, bishops, and physicians with high military rank, and adorns those peace-preaching servants of the meek Saviour with the first orders of chivalrous knighthood.

In France, Dupuytren and Cuvier, Thiers, Guizot, Dupin, and, I believe, most of the members of the institute, have been proud, and those living continue to be so, of wearing some cross or ribbon indicating alliance with the human butchers of the legion of honour (?). What absurd folly! Four years ago, when lodging in the Hotel Sinet, at Paris, I had a valet who never appeared brushing my clothes, or bringing me my boots, or otherwise attending to what I asked, without being decorated with two red ribbon orders. He was inflated with the vanity of wearing them—talked of

equality and Napoleon — and the evils of feudality in England. Yet, whenever I ordered him, he flew to execute what I desired quite as subserviently as any military sashed or starred, priest, doctor, professor, or knight, would to execute the orders of the autocrat himself. He did so from no reason in the world but that I employed him at as high wages, I suppose, as he could get from any other person.

In Austria a man of genius and talent, provided he agrees to exercise that talent in the service of the government, will certainly be employed, as Schlegel, Gentz, and others have been. Considerable ability is absolutely necessary in the secondary home and foreign departments of the state service; first, to execute the business of the state efficiently—secondly, to relieve those holding the primary appointments of state, of the labours of bureaucracy.

There is not, however, as in England, France, and especially in Prussia, a prospect of talented men of plebeian birth ever directing the supreme administration of an empire. In England we have had Walpole—Pitt—Whitbread, a brewer—Perceval—Jenkinson, all commoners; Canning, the son of an actress—Wellington—Peel, the son of a wealthy manufacturer—and

lastly, the present honest head of the administration; all men belonging to the people, and all ennobled with or without title, by themselves.

In Prussia, the present minister for foreign affairs, Ancillon, is son of a simple burgher, descended from the French who fell from the revocation of the edict of Nantes. He begun the world for a livelihood in a profession which he did not like to follow, that of a humble preacher or tutor, and from which his literary and philosophical genius rescued him. Naglor, the postmaster-general, and many highly-gifted but low-born men are in the official service of Prussia. Another, minister of state, Mühler, the son of a baker; and another, Kempz, of much the same origin, owe their positions entirely to themselves.

In the smaller states there is greater difficulty for genius and talent to surmount: yet my friend Dr. von Wirchinger, minister of finance in Bavaria, has attained his position solely by the exertion of his own abilities.

It is not the government of any country, however, that draws forth the energies of literary genius, or of philosophic minds. The encouragement which the *people* hold out forms he true natural excitement—the solid trust of

men who are eminently gifted by nature. Th public encouragement does not, as yet, exist Austria. But when the instruction of the peo expands their mental faculties, as it assured must, in the present irresistible progress intelligence, Austria will, as certainly, be longer known as the *German Bœotia.*

LETTER XIX.

MUSICAL GENIUS.

They say, in North Germany, if you allow the Viennese the reputation of pre-eminent musical genius, they will not be angry if you deny them every other spiritual gift. This, like all general remarks, is no doubt fallacious. Musical genius certainly pervades, and finds great estimation among the people, high and low, of this capital, and throughout Austria. Of all the fine arts, music alone seems to be highly appreciated.

Painting owes its most masterly excellences to the encouragement given to it by Catholicism. Yet in Vienna, where the great body of the population profess that religion, and where they are quite as devoted in their adora-

tion of all that gives splendour to churches, the latter are by no means celebrated for their pictures, nor has the capital ever been, for painters of great merit; although, as the numerous shop sign-boards testify, eminently so for artists of ordinary talent.

Sculpture is still less prized in a city and country where there exists but little pride on the part of the government, in regard to elevating monuments, either to honour the memories of great men, or to perpetuate the recollections of great national events. There are, indeed, very few monuments to the memory of distinguished persons. The last erected in St. Stephen's Cathedral was that of Prince Eugene of Savoy; where, as Madame de Staël observes, rather pointedly, "he waits for other heroes." As far as monumental fame speaks forth, none have since appeared in that temple.

The equestrian bronze statue of Joseph II. in Joseph's platz, admirably executed, is the only one which appears to honour royalty in the open air; and the few monuments which are elsewhere to be discovered, erected for the last century and a half, have been raised by private affection. The museums and galleries of Vienna abound with the works of sculptors and

Painters, but they are nearly all by foreign artists, and it is astonishing how little interest the inhabitants take in those collections. At Munich and at Dresden the people are again impassioned with an admiration of painting and sculpture, while they in my opinion possess quite as high feelings of delight in music as the Viennese.

The latter, however, have more abundant leisure to enjoy music, and far more ample material qualifications for its accompaniments. At Vienna, (with the exception of what the operas and melo-dramas afford), instrumental music, certainly in the most perfect style of execution, is that which ravishes the ears. The Prater, the *Volks-Garten*, the *Au-Garten*, and a hundred other resorts, are filled with bands, the meanest of which surpasses those of most theatrical orchestras.

Zelter, the composer, in his letters to Göethe, describes admirably the happy material positions of the Viennese for enjoying music, and how indifferent the *Kapel Meister* was in adapting their music to words, as to the beauty or appropriation of the latter, provided the music was effective; and then, talking of the faubourg

theatres, where the melo-dramas are characterized by broad-humoured coarseness, he observes:

"There were the three pieces, *Die Merber, Die Damenhüte im Theater*, and a pantomime, *Schulmuster Beeystrich, oder das Donnenswetter.* These are all of a somewhat vulgar character. My sides are still aching with laughter. The people, as well as the actors, share in the performances; for the least success is followed by applause, and the bad parts are hurried over. The players are in perpetual motion. They enjoy as much, if not more, than their audience. It is a gipsy scene, and cannot be described. The children screech, and then clap—the whole audience then screech, and clap too. When the piece is finished, all the actors, who are able to stand after the exhaustion, are called for: they make their bows and deliver thanks, and go on with their parts in their individual persons.

"It is thus that these people are not political. They only want to live, and to enjoy every minute of existence. They do so. Politics would *ennui* them at the beginning, and *ennui* them at the end. They go from the theatre to

supper—rise in the morning to go to mass—then to work—then from one play to another. Wiser they never were, and never will be.

"At the Prater you see several hundred carriages; some of them the most splendid—some *fiacres*; all moving in the centre avenue. In the others, groups, couples, solitary walkers, in beautiful confusion, which it is delightful to behold. Pretty, well-dressed women, and handsome men, with great diversity of countenance and character, flit past you like brilliant shadows. You sit down at the sides on seats, before the coffee-houses, shadowed by clumps of the most beautiful trees. All is charmingly neat and clean. From the thicket behind comes forth the sounds of delicious music: now you have an opera—now a ball—now a parade. Coffee and cakes before you—a child brings you flowers—a girl crystal water—an old woman tooth-picks. You send them away happy with a few copper kreutzers, which were previously as heavy in your pocket as the possession of a bad conscience.

This is Vienna. In the midst of sitting and serving, drinking and smoking, dancing and fiddling, do the living stream move comfortably and gladly onwards. They come, they stay,

they go, they speak, or do as they please in quiet,—in uninterrupted motion. No impediment—no inclosures. The coffee-houses and dancing-rooms belong to proprietors; the ground is the emperor's; no one dare inclose it. What makes the scene real sunshine, is the multitude of happy beings, who, reconciled in the morning (Sunday) to their Creator, enjoy the world in the evening as they like it best."

Madame de Staël remarks, that instrumental music is cultivated in Germany as much as that of vocal in Italy; and gives as a reason, that the former requires labour, while the soft climates of the south are favourable to fine voices. I attribute the prevalence of either vocal or instrumental music every where to circumstances, and its perfection to musical genius. Melody and strong expression form the characteristics of German music: and its vocal performance is, I think, far more general in central and North Germany, and in the Tyrol, than in Austria.

How often must those who have rambled along the banks of the Rhine, or among the valleys and hills behind, have been delighted, as I have, on listening to bands of rustics, young men and women, on going or returning

from their field labour, singing melodiously their national airs and songs, and also selections from Mozart, Beethoven, and Weber. On the Rhine, we may frequently observe a boat filled with passengers singing in full chorus, to which the mountain-echoes join in, as if performing the accompaniments.

The burschen of the northern universities sing their songs louder, and with greater glee than those of the south: they have also their instrumental music. Three years ago we were in a steam-boat ascending the Rhine; the day was as lovely, as imagination could exult in, amidst such delicious scenes. On passing Bonn, between Godsberg and the Drachenfels, three boats, which seemed idling on the Rhine, came alongside, with fifty young men clad in black velvet coats, cut like English shooting-jackets,—military-looking caps, fancy waistcoats, and as fanciful trousers,—hair *à la* Rubens,—each with a long *meerschaum*, and a gaily-wrought pouch; and some fifteen, bearing musical wind instruments, while the remainder carried fowling-pieces.

They boarded us, as if they were vassals of the feudal baron of Rolandsec, sent forth as *Raüber Ritter*, to capture, or to exact the

Rhine toll. They quickly arranged themselves over various parts of the deck, struck fire and lighted their pipes; and immediately the curling smoke from their three-score of *meerschaums* rose in clouds, competing with that of the steam-flue, as to which would more effectually obscure the clear bright heavens.

These free-spirited lads were the burschen of Bonn, a seat of learning which justly boasts of giving birth to Beethoven, and which is also still distinguished for the musical taste of its people. It was Sunday; the burschen were in their holiday academicals, and looked light-hearted, generous, daring spirits, fit and ready for study, song, generosity, mischief, or revolt.

On approaching the isles of Nonnenwerth, the *ci-devant* convent of which is now a favourite Sunday tavern and smoking-house, all the meerschaums were simultaneously extinguished, —the burschen descended into their boats,— fired a salute of about thirty shots,—rowed towards Nonnenwerth,—struck up on their instruments, to our surprise and delight, "God save the King," all the joyous youths joining in full chorus. A selection from Beethoven followed. The effect, amidst that most romantic part of the Rhine was enchanting.

The singing of the schoolboys on Sunday mornings, in North Germany, is noticed by Madame de Staël, particularly on a remarkably cold morning, when she witnessed those juvenile choristers in the town of Eisenach. The same custom still prevails. We happened to be at Gotha early last year. The day was Sunday, and it blew a most piercing cold north-easterly wind. Gotha, on the face of a hill, with a northerly aspect, is one of the most bleaky cold places in its situation that I know. As we were at breakfast in the Reisen hotel, a long file of boys, in their dark clothes and white shirt collars, came slowly down rather a steep street leading from the palace, singing a psalm: they alone appeared in the street; they stopped at each house where any of them had a parent or relation; they sung the solemn melody with an earnest feeling, and in a voice and taste astonishingly sweet and impressive. Their parents, sisters, and friends, appearing at the windows, and hearing the sacred song with heartfelt joy.

Some time after the scholars had passed, the municipal band appeared, with wind instruments, on the towers of the town house, where the cold must have been extreme. They played

three or four sacred airs, and then disappeared. We witnessed this often in other towns, on Sundays and on week days, particularly at Weimar.

In Austria and the southern parts of Germany, although the passion for music is general, its cultivation is directed more to that of instrumental, than in the north. The very gipsies of the south wander about with their rude harps; and the shepherds often beguile time by performing on some simple musical instrument. In the Tyrol, song and pipe are both indigenous, and often have both, animated the people to redeem their liberty.

To those who can comprehend and feel the force, beauty, and feeling which the German language is capable of conveying, and who have some acquaintance with the associations, legends, and history of the country, the national songs of Germany will be heard with exquisite delight.

Das Knaben Wunderhorn, compiled by Von Arnim and Bretano, two poets of the romantic school, is the best collection of popular German national songs. They charm and animate old and young. Heine says of this collection:

"I cannot sufficiently praise these sweetest

blossoms of German genius. Let he, who desires to know the bright side of the German people, read their popular songs. In these we feel the heart-throbs of the nation. In these German wrath beats the drum — German mockery whistles—and German love kisses. In these the pure German wine and pure German tears distil in pearly drops: the latter often far more preciously refined than the former."

When the iron tyranny of Napoleon threatened the extirpation of national spirit in Germany, and what was termed the holy war of independence was proclaimed by the German people, the poets and men of letters were not the least efficient in rousing the country to arms. The German muses, although they were for some time constrained to silence, were ever too proud and patriotic to praise the despot.

For a time all jealousies—all discord vanished in that country. Emperors and kings, princes, politicians, poets, and philosophers, joined in the holy strife for liberty. The sword and song were wielded together. Theodore Körner, Ludwig Uhland, Frederick de la Motte Fouqué, Moritz Arnott, Schenkendorf and many more, were amongst the foremost in urging the public on by their songs, to death or liberty.

The strife ended gloriously; but the people, who gained the advantages of peace, were not satisfied. The despotism of aristocracy again, especially in the small states, reared its head. A multitude of young poets and students, who were engaged in the fight, returned to their studies with all the vigour of patriotic life. The war of ideas succeeded the conflict of swords, and the attempts made to stifle the publicity of those ideas in Germany have produced secret societies — the *Burschenschaft*, *Jung Deutchland*, *Jung Schweitz*, and the *demagogischen Umtriebe*.

LETTER XX.

YOUNG GERMANY—THE PRESS—CENSORSHIP—POLICE—AND PUBLIC OPINION.

NOTHING astonished me more during my first travels in Germany than the execration which every one, connected with either the great or little governments, spoke of secret societies, and the licentiousness of the press, whenever those subjects were alluded to.

The most apprehended of these associations is that called *Jung Deutschland,* or young Germany. If this society be composed of such members as it is said to be, and if their principles are universal revolution and universal pillage,* no one can say that it should be too

* It is also averred that the members swear to slay any of their number who is guilty of betraying them, or who fails in any measure he may plan.

generally detested. But I doubt, from all I have been able to learn, if its existence be otherwise than on too despicable a scale to cause the German governments to have adopted the measures they have resolved and acted upon; which in reality only serve to give secret societies more importance, and to render the power of the state less respected, by exhibiting to the world, that those governments are under the influence of fear.

Governments, like great rulers, to be strong ought to be magnanimous: for tyranny and oppression are, universally, proofs of fear and weakness. The cruel enormities of Augustus are among the most atrocious on record. These were committed, when he lived, for twelve years, in daily fear. Afterwards, when he was above fear, he was the most lenient of emperors.

If the German governments have actually the courage to despise such societies as *Young Germany*, *Young Switzerland*, and *Young Italy*, let them but show that they disregard them, and the influence of these associations, and of all secret *propaganda*, will cease to be of any consequence whatever either in disturbing the public peace, or in overturning thrones. A small body of men cannot secretly do great mischief.

A multitude can never be a secret body; and if the whole, or a majority of the people, become determined by the force of moral conviction to change the established state of things, no existing government can prevent them.

Prosecutions for alleged political offences, have, in all countries, tended a thousand times more to weaken the moral, and finally though silently, the political power of governments, than all that secret societies and propaganda, ever could, or ever can accomplish.

France, which before, and particularly since the revolution of July, has been the most atrocious in her arrests, prosecutions of the press, seizures, imprisonments, and penalties, is at this moment in the most insecure state of any government in Europe.

In Austria, as I have already said, no one has the *privilege* of writing or speaking against the measures of government; and the prosecutions and imprisonments consequent upon the attempts made in her Italian possessions, can never be defended upon sound political, any more than on humane principles. The arrest and condemnation of Confalonieri, even his respite from death, for a long imprisonment, and latterly for banishment: the sad story of

Silvio Pellico, and the other arrests and imprisonments made in Italy, have done a thousand times more to estrange Italian feeling from Austria, than those severities for securing obedience.

The rigour exercised in Galicia, towards those suspected of secret correspondence, and of conspiring with foreigners, cannot but have caused a feeling, however silent, of hatred towards Austria, in a country so infamously partitioned from Poland only half a century ago.

Austria however is, with the exceptions I have made, not so rigorous in her prosecutions as most of the other states of Germany. Prussia, has for some time evinced a most unaccountable dread of secret societies, and *propaganda*. The counsellor of state, Schumman, has lately, on frivolous charges, been found guilty at Berlin, of high treason, and condemned to be imprisoned for fifteen years in a fortress; and many others have been prosecuted for political offences, or arrested and detained in prison for two or three years on suspicion. It is impossible for the press to be more in the harness of censorship than at Berlin. An academy also, is about to be established in that

capital, with the design of counteracting the influence of *literary Germans*, residing in other countries, such as Heine, Börne, Gutzkoff, Laube, Mundl, Veenburg;* whose works, although prohibited by a late resolution of the diet, and seized wherever found by the police, are yet generally disseminated over all the German states.

By the influence of Prussia, and the especial fears of the small governments, the diet at Frankfort has lately resolved, that political offenders shall be subjected to extradition, for trial, from one state to another, and there is not one of those which have not many alleged political offenders now in their prisons.

It is remarkable, that there is even more severity exercised in most of those states, who have the semblance of representative constitutions, than in Austria. A few weeks ago, one

* Count Bernstorff, when minister, recommended, (and his advice has certainly been followed), "The press as eminently qualified to consolidate and preserve the attachment of the German public to order and legality; and to *win over* talented writers, whose safe opinions might be tried by the wariness with which they would now lend their pens to assist the governments; yet no alterations are to be made in the existing censorship, which even in time of war cannot be dispensed with."

of the deputies at Hesse Cassel was arrested, without being even charged with his offence, while sitting among the other deputies in the chamber, and sent to prison.

During the sitting of the last session three years ago, of the legislature of Bavaria, the question of the civil list, on an augmented scale, being submitted to the consideration of the chambers, to be voted, not for the king's life, but "in perpetuity, and never to be subjected to any change otherwise than if necessary, still further to enlarge the amount," there were a sufficient number of refractory members to oppose its passing.

This was, however, got over by the king and his minister, Prince Wallenstein. The refractory members were arrested, on pretence of secretly conspiring against the government, and confined in prison until the chambers were prorogued, when they were sent to their respective country residences under a military escort.

An act of degradation only paralleled by that of Gessler commanding all who passed the hat he placed on a pole, in the public place of Altorf, to do homage to the hat as if it were the emperor, occurred last summer at Munich.

The Aulic counsellor Behr, formerly burgomaster of Wurzburg, had taken upon him to speak more freely on matters of right and government than was agreeable to King Ludwig. Behr, who certainly does not gain in our estimation by the punishment, was condemned to do penance on his knees, in the public hall of the municipality, before the *portrait of the king*. He then read an applauded lecture on the necessity of a supreme head of the state and his inviolability, and that, consequently, he never intended any thing disrespectful to the person or power of his majesty, to whose revered head he was faithfully devoted, and for what he had formerly said he begged to proclaim his deep repentance."

The Press, in the Austrian states, cannot, in any political or religious view, be considered the organ of public opinion, although it certainly may be understood frequently as the organ of the state. Yet great talent is not, as in Prussia, employed by the government in rendering the press a powerful engine; and the actual merit of the newspapers justifies Dalpozzo in saying,

"The Austrian government is not hypocritical, it disdains to colour its actions as some

other governments do; it follows a straightforward course, heedless of the talk, and criticism, and ridicule of foreign journals. It ought, however, to persuade itself that it is not useless nor derogatory to enlighten and conciliate public opinion, and to dispel unfair charges. That Austria is powerful enough to be generous, even to her declared enemies; that she ought to grant a full amnesty for political offences in 1820-1; that she ought to allow her subjects an unlimited liberty of travelling, the restrictions imposed on the locomotive faculties being both absurd and odious. That she ought to introduce the free introduction of foreign books and journals. The more people read about foreign affairs the less they will be liable to the imposition of quacks and alarmists."

Dalpozzo wrote as a well known supporter of the Austrian government, yet no one can deny that he does not give sound advice.

The censorship of the press is in principle and power as strict in Austria as in Prussia. In Lombardy and Venetia, where the principal periodicals are published, the police and censorship are bitterly complained of. A late Italian writer, whose name I have omitted when I made the extract, asserts, and although with

warmth, not without truth, as to existing regulations.

"The liberty of the press is fettered by an inexorable censorship, and the expression of opinion prevented by an unceasingly vigilant police. Nothing can be introduced, nothing can be published, not even an advertisement for a *lost dog*, without previous licence, and sometimes not without a double and triple censorship. Not only sentiments, but even words, are subject to proscription. No author can employ in his writings the words *constitution, country, liberty, independence, liberality*, without incurring the anger of these inquisitors. In a work of the unfortunate Signor Pellico, who was shut up for three years in the prison of Spielberg, this phrase was cancelled, '*the laudable desire of popularity.*' The Austrian government, after having permitted some individuals to establish, at their own expense, Lancasterian schools in Mantua, Brescia, and Milan, suddenly, and without the least motive or even pretence whatever, caused them to be closed by a commissary of police, and the young students to be turned out amidst the tears of their parents. The Austrian government insisted that the Lancasterian schools of

Piedmont should share the same fate, alleging as a reason *that they taught the rights of man!*"

In Germany (including 36 in German Switzerland) there are about 170 political journals, or rather mere newspapers, published, and about 500 literary, scientific, and religious papers.

In the Austrian dominions 76 journals are printed, of these 22 appear from the Vienna press, 25 at Milan, 10 in the other towns of Lombardy, 7 in the Venetian States, 5 at Verona, and 7 in other towns. At Vienna 12 English (daily and weekly), 7 French, 2 Dutch, 1 Belgian, 22 German, 2 Greek, 2 Turkish, 2 Polish, and 5 Russian journals are at present received; besides 9 reviews and literary periodicals from England, 38 from France, and about 110 from the several states of Germany.

The well-known *Algemeine Zeitung*, or Augsburg Gazette, is that chiefly read. This journal is chiefly valuable for its extracts; it has always a supplement, and it is said that the supplements sent with those which enter Austria are arranged, so that the paper may contain nothing offensive to the government.

The *Beobachter*, or Observer, is the principal Vienna journal, and the organ of government.

It often contains a good deal of interesting intelligence; but, as a political paper, neither it nor any one of those published within the Imperial States, are in the least degree interesting. The other papers are, The Gazette, for official notices, and several small literary, dramatic, and humorous daily or weekly papers, chiefly found at the coffee-houses.

As far as I have observed the police, which, in all countries (except when strictly municipal for maintaining civil order) form an intolerable nuisance, inconsistent with liberty, are by no means so meddling as in France and in some small German states. Passports, another plague with which the 18th century and the first French revolution have cursed Europe, are often a cause of the most annoying delay all over the Austrian dominions, except Hungary, where the people are not yet, as in France, Germany, and Italy, sufficiently civilized to understand the great utility of those locomotive licences.

Believing, from conviction, after much examination, that the most licentious press will fall powerless if left to expend itself; that secret societies can never become dangerous to a good patriarchal, or to a well organized repre-

sentative government; that, in defiance of all censorship and prohibition, every book will find its way where it can get purchasers and readers; and that, although governments may, for a time, stifle the expression of public opinion, they never can destroy its force, which will only break forth, like a volcano, with the greater explosion, in proportion to the obstacles that resist it; I have great hopes that the government of Vienna, becoming every day more intelligent, and more prepared for liberalizing the whole empire, will at the same time direct its attention to those great measures which, in regard to freedom of thinking and acting, will not only the more effectually guarantee the duration of tranquillity, but in developing the vast and varied resources of the Austrian dominions, consolidate the common feelings and prosperity of the whole empire, by material and intelligent improvements extended equally to all those states.

LETTER XXI.

AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT.

According to the authorities of Austrian publicists themselves, and the statements of Cannabich, Galetti, and Balbi, the imperial government is absolute in some states, limited in others, and the monarchy hereditary. The title of Emperor of Austria was assumed, when Napoleon compelled Francis the Second to resign the *elective* title of Emperor of Germany. At that time his hereditary titles were Archduke of Austria, and King of Hungary and Bohemia; and now, Emperor of Austria, and King of Hungary, Bohemia, and Lombardo-Venetia, &c.

The emperor must be considered in Austria, the fountain of all military and civil honours

and appointments, and the supreme and absolute director of the executive, legislative, and military government.

He is assisted in the administration,

First, by the "*Ministry of State and Conference*," viz.: two archdukes; a prince of the empire (Metternich); three noblemen; and one director of this council. These form the cabinet.

Secondly, by the "*Council of State Conference and Privy Reference*," consisting at present of

The president of the interior and finance (Count Kollowrat); a general field-officer; a superior ecclesiastic; his majesty's physician in ordinary; and five other counsellors; besides six refendaries of the council; viz.: one general officer, and five aulic counsellors.

Thirdly, by the "*Chancellorships*," viz.:

The Chancellorship of the Household, Court, and State, composed of one chancellor, Prince Metternich, who is also minister for foreign affairs, and may be considered prime minister of the empire; eight aulic counsellors, and five privy counsellors.

The Chancellor of the Court (in assembly), consisting of one supreme chancellor, the minister of the interior; one first chancellor; one chancellor of the court; one vice-chancellor, and sixteen aulic counsellors.

The Chancellorship of the court of Hungary, composed of one chancellor; one vice-chancellor, and ten aulic counsellors.

The Chancellorship of the court of Transylvania, consisting of one president, and four court counsellors.

Fourthly, by the "*Council of War*," composed of

One president; a general field officer; two vice-presidents; four counsellors of the war council; fifteen aulic

counsellors; one director-general of engineers; one director general of artillery, and one president of the military court of appeal.

Fifthly, by the "*High Court of Police and Censorship*," consisting of—

One president, and four aulic counsellors.

Sixthly, by the *Minister of War*, *Finance*, *Interior*, and *Foreign Affairs*, in their respective departments, and by the *Court Commission*, for administering the *Supreme Direction of Justice*.

The funded operations and central finance are managed much in the same way as by the bank of England, by the *national bank* of Austria.

The "*Royal Household*," has—

First, on the *emperor's establishment*—

The vicar of the first grand master, who is also grand marshal; grand chamberlain; grand ecuyer; grand master of the ceremonies; grand master of the kitchen; upper stable master; intendant general of the buildings; prefect of the imperial library; director of the privy purse; grand huntsman; grand guardian of the table utensils, &c.

Secondly in the *empress's household*—

The grand master; grand mistress, &c. &c; besides the grand masters and mistresses of the princesses, &c. &c., and numerous other officers, guards, &c. &c.

There are *twelve generals in chief commanding in the twelve general captainships*, viz.:—

Illyria, Austria, Styria, and the Tyrol; Bohemia; Moravia and Silesia; Gallicia; Hungary; Lombardy and Venice; Sclavonia; Croatia; Upper Hungary; Transylvania, and Dalmatia.

There are also in each of the *great divisions* of the empire—

A civil governor, or president, and supreme tribunals, to which appeals lay in Lower and Upper Austria; Bohemia; Moravia and Silesia; Galicia; Dalmatia; the Tyrol; Lombardy and Venice.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS.

"The German geographers," says Balbi, "are nearly all of the same opinion, by dividing into four parts, all the countries which form the empire of Austria, viz.:—*First*, the German country, or the Austrian territories, comprised within the German confederation. *Second*, the Polish country, or that part of the ci-devant kingdom of Poland, now belonging to Austria. *Third*, the Hungarian country, which not only include the kingdoms of Hungary, Transylvania, and the military confines, but also the kingdom of Dalmatia: and *fourth*, the Italian States, which include the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. *Inexact* as these divisions are, because they are neither *Ethnographic*, as is shown by what we have mentioned in the article *ethnography*, or *geographic*, as can be proved on examining their position on a chart: we do not hesitate to adopt them, although imperfect; for they are too generally admitted, to be set aside. It is, therefore, upon these great divisions, that we establish the particular divisions. The whole empire is accordingly divided into fifteen governments, all independent of each other, having different titles, superfices very unequal, and each administered very differently. Each government is subdivided into circles, provinces, counties, districts, &c., according to the different countries to which they belong."

THE GOVERNMENTS AND SUBDIVISIONS ARE:

AUSTRIAN, OR GERMAN TERRITORIES.

DIVISIONS.	SUBDIVISIONS.
1. Government of Lower Austria (*Nieder-Oestereich, or Land unter der Ens*)	1 Captainship, Vienna. 4 Circles.
2. Government of Upper Austria (*Ober-Oesterich, or Land ob-der Ens*)	5 Circles.
3. Government of the Tyrol .	7 Circles.
4. Government of Styria (Steyermark)	5 Circles.

KINGDOM OF ILLYRIA. (ILLYRIEN.)

5. Government of Laybach .	5 Circles.
6. Government of Trieste . .	1 Free City—Trieste. 2 Circles.
7. Government of Bohemia. (Boehmen)	17 Circles.
8. Government of Moravia and Silesia. (Maehren and Schlesien)	8 Circles.

POLISH COUNTRY.

9. Government of the Kingdom of Galicia. (Galicien) . .	19 Circles.

ITALIAN COUNTRY,

OR,

LOMBARDO-VENETIAN KINGDOM.

10. Government of Milan, or Lombardo Provinces . .	9 Delegations.
11. Government of Venice, or Venetian Provinces . .	8 Delegations.

HUNGARIAN COUNTRY.

Ungarn of the Germans.—Madjar-Orzag of the Hungarians.

DIVISIONS.	SUBDIVISIONS.
12. Kingdom of Hungary . .	4 Circles.
Subdivided again into . .	46 Comitats.
13. Kingdom of Sclavonia. (Civil Section)	3 Comitats.
14. Kingdom of Croatia. (Civil Section)	3 Comitats.

PARTICULAR DISTRICTS, VIZ:

15. Littoral Hungary . .	or 6 Administrations.
16. Jazygia. (Jaszsag) . .	
17, & 18. Little and Great Kumania	
19. Territory of the Hay-Doucks.	

GOVERNMENT OF TRANSYLVANIA.

Siebenburgen of the Germans; Erderly—Orzag of the Hungarians, and containing

20. The Magyarck-Reze, or Hungarian Section	11 Comitats. 2 Districts.
21. Szekelyek-Resze, or Szeklers country	5 Szekes.
22. Szasrok-Resze, or Saxon country	9 Szekes. 2 Districts.

DALMATIA, OR

23. The Government of Dalmatia and Albania	4 Circles.

MILITARY GOVERNMENT, VIZ.:—

24. The Generalship of Carlstadt, Warasdin, and the Ban of Croatia, subdivided into . .	8 Regimentships.

DIVISIONS.	SUBDIVISIONS.
25. The Generalship of Sclavonia	8 Regimentships. 1 Battalion.
26. The Generalship of Banat	2 Regiments.
27. The Generalship of Transylvania	5 Regiments.

The AUSTRIAN EMPIRE is, therefore, divided into:—

9. Great Divisions, subdivided into
27. Lesser administrations; and further, into
203. Circles, counties, military districts, &c.; besides minor jurisdictions, somewhat resembling the English hundreds and French communes.

The assemblies, called PROVINCIAL STATES, which meet in all the countries subject to Austria, except Friuli, and the military limits, seldom, or generally do not, impose any check on the prerogative of the emperor. They assemble, it may be said, for little more than to give opinions, unless it be in regard to some secondary branches of administration. In Hungary and Transylvania, however, not only the states possess a share in the making of laws; but the nobility have other highly important privileges. In the Tyrol, no new tax can be levied without the consent of the states. The Hungarian government, being almost entirely aristocratical, the body of the peasants are

still in no way represented. The states consist of four orders; clergy, nobles, knights, and the representatives of the free cities. In the Tyrol there is a *chamber of peasants.*

The local affairs of towns and parishes, appear to be generally administered with mild and equal authority, and certainly at very little expense to the people.

LETTER XXII.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAWS.

JUSTICE is administered according to recent codes formed under Joseph II., in 1786-7, and under Francis II., in 1811-12. The tribunals are presided by the magistrates in towns; and in the country there are courts presided in by the nobility of the district. From them an appeal lies to the college of justice, established in the capital of each province.

The laws consist chiefly of edicts, established precedents, usages, and regulations, not repugnant to the spirit and practice of the government. The different sections of the empire have their respective usages, or laws, which are often very contradictory in one state to those in another.

It is contended that punishments are mild, inasmuch as death is seldom the consequence of judicial trials. No man, by the Austrian laws, can be put to death until he confesses his crime. This is the law also in Bavaria, and some other states. The severity and duration of imprisonment, and of condemnation to hard labour in the mines, for crimes against property, for political transgressions, and for smuggling, are certainly inflicted with rigorous obedience to the sentence of the tribunals. Crime against property and person is certainly rare in Austria; and to the moral instruction and material ease of the people, this must, I think, be attributed.

Dalpozzo, who must, however, be considered as viewing the Austrian government with a favourable eye, says, and, as far as I have been able to observe, (taking the exception of political cases), with truth,—

"The abolition of feudal servitude and personal services in Bohemia, Galicia, and other Austrian states, except in Hungary, where the nobility, while they boast of their patriotism and nationality, have generally opposed the ameliorations suggested by the crown in the condition of the peasantry; the abolition of

torture; the determined resistance to encroachments of the papal authority; the gradual and considerate suppression of superfluous monasteries; the security afforded to literary property; the establishment of elementary schools all over the monarchy: the abolition of corporal punishment in those schools; all are matters," he says, "well-known, at least, to the men of the eighteenth century. It is also," continues he, "known, that in every part of the Austrian monarchy there are provincial states, which meet to discuss matters relative to the administration, especially financial, of their respective provinces. They lay the result of their deliberations and their suggestions before the sovereign. In the Italian provinces, they are called congregations: of these, there are two central ones; one at Milan, and the other at Venice. They are composed of deputies from three classes,—nobles, proprietors not nobles, and deputies of the cities. The communal council elects three candidates for every vacant place, out of which the emperor chooses one. Their functions chiefly relate to the repartition of taxes between the various districts, to military lodgings, and other charges; the inspection of hospitals and other charitable

institutions, to roads, bridges, canals, &c. The administration of the municipal and communal finances is especially intrusted to the provincial congregations, of which there is one in every province, and which are composed on the same principles as the central ones. The central congregations have also the right of making known to the sovereign, directly, the wants and wishes of the nation.

" The Austrian government, although not constitutional, cannot be called despotic. It has fundamental laws, usages, and precedents, from which it does not deviate. The right of private property is held sacred. The emperor makes general laws for his subjects, but no special or exceptionable ones for particular persons or cases. There is equality before the law, and no odious privilege of cast is now admitted. There is no abusive influence of either aristocracy or clergy. The judiciary power is held independent, and not interfered with by rescripts from the sovereign. No special commissions are appointed to try particular cases; no arbitrary penalties are inflicted. All those who were condemned for political offences in 1820-1, were regularly tried; several were condemned

to death, but *not one was executed.** The proceedings in the civil courts are neither dilatory nor expensive. The conveyance of property has been rendered, by a wise system of registration, as easy and safe as any commercial transaction. With the exception of political cases, the penal code is very mild. The punishment of death is awarded in very few instances. Few countries in Europe enjoy so much material prosperity as the Austrian monarchy."

As far as the subordinate agents of the Austrian government are in question, even Silvio Pellico admits that all those with whom he came in contact during his wearisome imprisonment — police commissaries, officers, guards, inspectors, gaolers, priests — were honest hearted, kind, good men. "The clergy," he says, "are not one of them uninformed, bad, rude, or deceitful."—"Surely," says Dalpozzo,

* This is not sufficient proof of mercy—we shou'd have an *exposé* of prison and hard labour treatment. Both are, however, milder than in France; and the fir.t generally, even for high crimes, better than that to which *poor debtors* (the rich, even in prison, can buy comfort) are subjected to in England. A man's property is liable, not his person, as with us, for the debts he contracts. Yet we hear the voice of *monsters* still advocating, in both lords and commons, imprisonment for debt.

"a government employing such servants cannot be so very barbarous, very unprincipled, and very bad, as is commonly represented."

In regard to my own convictions, I entered the Austrian dominions with certainly no favourable idea of the administration of the public offices, or of the details of justice; and, after careful and extensive examination, I am bound to say, that, although there is much that I would change for the benefit of all, I could also prove, by well-authenticated, and not to be disputed statistical facts, that society at large, and families and individuals, have suffered more affliction and pain from confining the unfortunate in the prisons of England and Ireland in one year, by the mere practice of our courts of law, by the rascality of attorneys, and by imprisonment for debt, than all that have been victimized for political opinions, or by the administration of justice from the year 1780, when Joseph II. began to reign, until his nephew, Francis, died in 1831.

Let those who fall on foreign nations, and especially on Austria, with foul abuse—let the Edinburgh Review, and other periodicals, first put down our barbarous imprisonments for personal, and often doubtful claims—let tithe-

rebellion writs—let the tyranny of Chancery practice and Exchequer penalties be annihilated, before England can boast of the practical enjoyment of that impartial, equal, inexpensive, unoppressive justice, to which she has, with the whole world, a natural and rightful claim. Until then, let party writers not accuse foreign nations of greater evils than those which *haunt* and *destroy* the happiness of our own *firesides*.

LETTER XXIII.

ANTI-COMMERCIAL SYSTEM.

In nearly all countries, except Turkey and Holland, the idea of prohibiting foreign commodities, or burdening them with enormous duties, was considered a policy which would force home-manufacturing industry into flourishing prosperity, and consequently increase the wealth and power of the state.

This fallacious doctrine, which subjugates, in nearly all cases, the bulk of the nation to a most unjust, although indirectly oppressive taxation, for the doubtful, but specious benefit, at the most, of a *few* of the *many*, has been doggedly persevered in by the Austrian government.

If the many disasters which the empire has

so grievously experienced, can be attributed to any one principal cause, it will assuredly be found to arise from her short-sighted illiberal commercial system.

With the best intentions of a liberal, but not sufficiently experienced man, Joseph II. enfeebled his country by his false commercial legislation, so as to subject Austria in consequence to the misfortunes that an empty and bankrupt treasury are sure to bring upon nations as well as upon individuals. He wrote to the then Earl Kollowrat, in order to bring forward indigenous productions, and to curb the useless growth of luxury and fashion, "I make public my orders concerning the *general prohibition of foreign manufactures.*

"By the consumption, almost exclusive, of foreign products, the Austrian trade has been rendered passive; and the *state* has lost in consequence twenty-four millions of florins per annum paid for foreign commodities.

"Until this time the government appears to have only had in view enriching French, English, and Chinese merchants and manufacturers; and to deprive the country of the advantages of which it would otherwise neces

sarily avail itself, by its own industry, to satisfy its wants."

A system nearly prohibitory was then enforced, — an expensive establishment of preventive custom-house agents employed, and continued to this day,—and duties of 60 per cent., *ad valorem*, on all foreign commodities not actually prohibited by law, imposed.

Notwithstanding all these precautions foreign manufactures have always appeared at Vienna, and at all the principal towns. The late Germanic union of customs has also caused so great a contraband trade into Austria, that, although the expense of guarding the frontier amounts to more than the revenue collected, foreign smuggled goods appear at the fairs and other markets much cheaper than home manufactures.

Austria, therefore, after persevering for nearly sixty years in a system that has made her twice bankrupt in her financial credit,—that has prevented her ever having revenue sufficient to meet her expenditure,—that has left her without means to clothe, and arm, and pay an army of such magnitude as would have driven back, or crushed at once, even the most formidable

invasion of Napoleon,—remains still embarrassed by the dead-weight oppression of that system;—while not more than one out of eighteen of her whole population are employed in manufactories, and while her mighty natural elements for foreign commerce have lain almost dormant.

A liberal commercial system can alone render Austria a great powerful independent empire. No power can be independent, which, in time of peace expends more than her revenue. This is the case with Austria, as I will hereafter explain to you. And a state which has twice fallen into bankruptcy and financial discredit, must make vigorous exertions to recover her strength, in order to be prepared for defence in case of need and danger.

Austria possesses all the natural resources,—all the moral and physical elements of power, and revenue, and riches, in an eminent degree. She has pre-eminently the advantages of extensive and varied productive regions;—corn, wine, oil, honey, wool, silk, hemp, flax, tobacco, timber, madder, all useful vegetables and delicious fruits—iron, coal, salt, and other mineral products in abundance;—cattle, swine, horses and sheep;—great rivers, sea-ports, rich soils,

all climates, and all her states adjoining each other, forming one of the greatest compact empires in the world.

To bring forward into productive and enriching operation all those great natural elements of wealth and power, there is one great spring of action wanting, namely, an extensive commerce with foreign nations. This commerce would inevitably create, not only great home industry, but a great export trade. The anti-commercial system, on the other hand, by preventing the introduction, except by smuggling, of most foreign commodities, forms a smothering *incubus*, under which industry and and enterprise lay in *stationary torpor*.

LETTER XXIV.

FINANCES.

The revenue of the Austrian dominions is derived from direct taxes, land chiefly,—excise, tolls on roads, tobacco monopoly, salt monopoly, customs (1,540,000*l.* sterling only), post-office, lotteries, stamps, which are very high,—miscellaneous taxes on property, &c., mines, only one-seventh part of the amount after paying the expenditure, and a few extra taxes, producing altogether, without deducting the expense of collection, the gross sum of 147,600,000 florins, or 14,760,000*l.* sterling; the expense of collecting which, amounts direct to 35,600,000 florins; and indirect, with additional frontier guards, customs, officers (exclusive of additional military and police assisting

to guard the frontiers), to 2,800,000 florins more,—in all 38,400,000 florins, or more than one-fourth of the whole revenue. The gross expenditure is 155,455,756 florins, 43,500,000 of which goes to pay the interest of the national debt. The excess of expenditure over receipts, is 8,455,756 florins.

Now, when we consider the financial distress of the empire at various periods,—the losses of 1811 and of 1813, the national debt now due,—the small amount of revenue in proportion to the population, we shall find no difficulty in tracing this state of long-continued embarrassment to no other cause but the anti-commercial system, which has prevented the development of the vast resources of this otherwise splendid and magnificent empire.

Maria Theresa, rather than liberalize Transsylvania, Sclavonia, and Croatia, from the shackles of restriction, and consequently increase her revenue, descended to the plan of public begging in the churches; and so far was she reduced in her treasury, that, to secure in her need the alliance of France, she condescended to correspond and pay court to Farinelli and Madame de Pompadour, both royal mistresses, which the virtuous and chaste

queen would no doubt have immured in a convent if she had had them at Vienna.

Frederick III., whose empty treasury reduced him frequently to humiliation, used to say, "that, like a willow, he bent to the blast, and rose when the tempest was over." Francis II. was compelled to practise the lesson of his ancestor.

In Schneller's History of Bohemia, an able and fearless work, which you may find in any book-shop in Vienna, the following passages, relative to the Austrian finances, occur in the beginning of the third volume:

"Count Wallis, called from the post of Oberst-burg-graf in Prague to that of finance minister in Vienna, soon perceived that the financial measures of Counts Sauran, Zichy, and O'Donell, from 1790 to 1811, were only expedients for momentary relief, and not for permanent income. Voluntary contributions had been called for; the silver of the churches had been used; a base currency of half its nominal value had been issued; the exportation of the metals had been prohibited; a compulsory loan of seventy-five millions of florins had been exacted, to diminish the amount of bank-notes; enormous duties had been laid upon colonial

produce; the post money had been raised two or three times; a property tax of one-half per cent. had been introduced; and the emperor, who had publicly promised to issue no bank-notes in future, was compelled again to have recourse to that expedient. All was in vain.

"The floating bank-notes had imperceptibly risen to 1,060,000,000 of florins (106,000,000*l.* sterling); the amount of *interest-paying* debt was not exactly ascertained. It was doubtless even more considerable; the salaries of all public officers, and the expenditure of the state, had risen enormously in proportion to the depreciation of currency; all these evils were now to be remedied by the bold project of the determined Count Wallis.

"The *coup-d'état* which that minister carried into execution, was approved of by his majesty. On the 11th of February, 1811, the orders were printed with the greatest secrecy in the imperial printing-office; a copy of the warrant was sent, sealed, to all the governors of the empire, who were to open it at the same hour, on the 15th of March, 1811; these orders were instantly to be acted upon, without remonstrance, and without the assent of the states; they were promulgated amidst the roll of mili-

tary drums. This master-stroke consisted in the substitution of quittances for bank-notes, so that five florins of the latter were paid by one florin of the former, in all public and private engagements.

"The whole financial system of the empire was thus changed; the usual notion of right and property was entirely violated. The war of 1813 drew forth a fresh issue of 212,000,000 in paper, besides *anticipationscheine* to three times that amount. When Count Stadion succeeded Count Wallis, the paper money was so valueless, that he found it necessary to reduce it from 250 to 100. In consequence, the property of minors, hospitals, all institutions, and capitalists, was reduced from one 100,000 to 20,000 by Wallis, and from 20,000 to 8000 by Stadion. Yet all this was of no comparison to the corruption of morals introduced amongst the people. Every one endeavoured by any means, to make up for his unmerited loss. The permanent disadvantage to the state was still greater. It was compelled to borrow, after the peace, first 20,000,000, and afterwards 38,000,000 from Rothschild, and nearly as much from other contractors."

In 1831, a loan of near 100,000,000 florins was

contracted; and unfortunately, the expenditure ever since has exceeded the receipts.

Nothing can justify the national bankruptcy of a respectable government.

Siecle, a French financial writer contended, before the first revolution, "that in an absolute government like France, the reigning prince has only a temporary interest in the revenue of the state, and consequently that it would be not only a prudent, but even a legal operation to annihilate the public debt at the commencement of each reign." This diabolical maxim may have been read by Count Wallis, but he should have remembered, as imperial minister, what King John of France declared, "that if honour had fled the world, it ought still to be found in the bosom of princes."

Having given, in connection with other inquiries, rather extensive consideration to the financial system, or rather financial expedients, which mark the last eighty years of Austrian administration, and having compared those expedients with the natural resources and population of the empire, I am finally led to the conclusion, that a minister like William Pitt, notwithstanding his involving the country in a general war, would never have allowed the

empire to fall into the degradation of breaking faith with the public creditor; not that Mr. Pitt was the minister whose administration I praise; but as a statesman, his energies in maintaining the national credit during war, must be admired, although his policy may not be justified; and in time of peace he would, in a government like that of Austria, have been really the man to make the empire recover herself by a liberal commercial system, which would in a far less period than the twenty-two years that have elapsed since the general peace, not only have diminished the debt, but have produced a revenue fully adequate to meet the current expenditure, and pay the interest regularly of the public obligations, impelling at the same time the whole empire forward in agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial prosperity.

Prussia, at the present moment, maintains her public credit, after having fulfilled her obligations honorably. And yet the expenditure of Frederick the Great was necessarily enormous. Even after the war we are astonished, on visiting Berlin and Potsdam, at the vast sums which must have been expended in palaces and public buildings of all kinds. Yet Frederick left behind

him a tolerably well filled treasury, and no debt. His successor afterwards contracted liabilities of about twenty millions sterling, which the present king paid nearly off before the battle of Jena.

The ravages of the French, and the distress to which the kingdom was consequently reduced, involved the treasury afterwards in a debt, for which a yearly interest of 6,397,000 thalers, or nearly one million sterling is paid: this, for a population of fifteen millions, is a mere trifle, and 2,500,000 thalers is also appropriated annually to reduce the debt. In Prussia, the revenue raised is regulated as nearly as possible to meet the expenditure. It has been fixed, for the ten years ending May, 1840, at 51,400,000 thalers, or £8,420,000 sterling annually.

The land tax in Prussia is high in proportion to the other taxes, and the excise bears so heavily on the vineyards of the Rhenish country, that the growers have occasionally not considered it prudent to gather or put the vines in press, on account of the excise duty. The customs have fallen off also, in consequence of the political extension of the Prussian tariff around so many states of the Germanic con-

federation. Yet Prussia, which, with very few exceptions, in regard to having cheap manufactures, has always had a moderate commercial system, has, through all her disasters, maintained her public credit.

Austria seems never to have in any way understood the simple fact that, to raise a large revenue without oppressing the people, it is necessary to levy duties on foreign commodities for the purpose of revenue only; never with the false view of protecting and raising up domestic manufactures, which, high duties, or in other words premiums for smuggling, never can realize. Low duties on foreign commodities, as is experimentally proven in England and the United States, always occasion great consumption. Great consumption yields great revenue.

LETTER XXV.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, AGRICULTURE —MANUFACTURES—TRADE.

Among the first improvements in a country, roads, are of the most important benefit. The highways in the Austrian dominions generally, with the exception of Hungary, part of Galicia, and the country east of Styria, are in a remarkably good condition: but it must be remarked, that there are too few of these roads, and that the by-roads in wet weather, are no more than miry tracks.

With the exception of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, the empire requires generally to be unlocked by canalization. An extension of commerce by requiring greater facility of transport, would also require canals, to be extensively executed, as well as many new lines of railroads.

With respect to the latter, Austria is in advance of every other continental country. That which I have already noticed passing from Linz north, to Budweis, and south towards the salt-mines, is of itself an extensively useful work. That projected from Vienna to the frontiers of Krakaw, as well as one of far greater importance, from Vienna to Milan, and another commercial road, not decided of what description, to Trent, will most likely be accomplished in a few years. Many other improvements, which are required to facilitate internal communication, and for removing the few impediments which interrupt the lower navigation of the Danube, and those of its branches, can only be effected as increasing commerce may ensure a return of the outlay, or when the general utility may induce the government to execute such public works. At present, the revenue will not permit any such expenditure, and it never can until it is greatly augmented by increased trade. When that happens, the enterprise to which commerce itself will give birth, can far better accomplish works of general usefulness than any government. In fact, the prosperity and enterprise of a country is never great, when public works are managed by the government, with which

there can be no competition: and competition, as in England, and the United States of America, forms the heart and life of that active enterprise and ingenuity, which render nations great and wealthy.

Agriculture, especially the raising of corn crops, may be considered in a fair state of improvement. Throughout Austria, Bohemia, and Lombardo-Venetia, ploughs and all implements of husbandry, are, in consequence of iron being cheaper, far superior to those used in France. The farm-houses, and all rural dwellings have a clean, corresponding, comfortable appearance. Sheep pasturing and breeding is attended to with great care in Austria, Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, as well as in Hungary.

The manufacturing of woollen cloths, coarse and fine, has attained a superior degree of excellence both in quality and dyeing, in Moravia, Bohemia, and the Archduchy of Austria. The glass of Bohemia, especially the brilliantly coloured glass, is perhaps the finest and most beautiful ever manufactured.

Cotton manufactures, which have recently sprung up in German Bohemia, and at Vienna, appear to be in a flourishing state, they are not so in reality. The high duty on foreign fabrics,

maintains all these in a fictitious state, at the expense of the whole empire.

The manufacture of linen is by far the most healthy and prosperous of any. The silk fabrics of Lombardo-Venetia, are on the decline. Those of Vienna are supplanting them, (where smuggled articles do not,) in all the imperial markets. The ironmongery and cutlery, manufactured from the excellent iron of Styria, appear to me superior to any other wrought on the continent. The porcelain of the imperial manufacture is fine and clear. The earthenware, generally inferior. A great variety of embroidered and fanciful articles of home manufacture, are sold in the shops and at the fairs. Generally speaking, the apparently prosperous state of the Austrian manufactures must be entirely attributed to the low price of bread and animal food. The *protective* duty is injurious not serviceable to them. Smuggling brings goods far more ruinously into competition with them in the home market, than fair trade, subjected to moderate duties, could ever accomplish.

The home trade and enterprise is also shackled by *taxed licences*, which with the *erwerb*

steuer (earnings tax), and qualifications as to capital before setting up in business as merchants and bankers, destroy competition. To me it is wonderful that the aristocracy and landed proprietors, are not sensible of their being the great victims to this monopolising system. They pay even at Vienna twice the price they should do for butchers' meat in consequence of the monopoly created by the "slaughtering license."

The trade of Austria with other countries is chiefly contraband by land, and by sea principally, for colonial produce, cotton, wool, and various raw materials by Trieste, France, Venice, and Fiume.

The activity which the steam-boat navigation has already extended along the banks of the Danube, forms practical evidence of how easily the commerce between Austria and other countries may be advanced. The advantages of an extensive international trade between the British and Austrian empires, would undoubtedly be attended with the utmost benefit to both. In the latter, where not one-eighteenth of the population are engaged in manufactures, —where every nobleman, landholder, and

farmer, are taxed 60 per cent on the home manufactures they use for the fictitious benefit* of that one eighteenth,—where all the wool of the landed interests is in the way of trade monopolised by a few bankers at Vienna, an extensive trade with a country which consumes so vast a quantity of the very kinds of raw commodities which the Austrian dominions can so eminently supply, forms a subject of the first consideration for the statesmen of both nations.

* Fictitious benefit it certainly is, for immediately on the other side of the frontier of Bohemia, in Saxony, where the manufacturers had no protection whatever until they were compelled to come under the Prussian cordon, the same fabrics as those protected in Bohemia are in a more flourishing condition, although manufactured in a naturally less favourable situation.

LETTER XXVI.

MILITARY FORCE.

THE standing army forms, in proportion to the revenue, an oppressive burden on the Austrian states. Its maintenance, exclusive of various foraging allowances in Hungary, drains the treasury of 44,000,000 of florins, or 4,400,000*l.* per annum. That is, more than all the land and direct taxes. Considering the actual standing force, this sum is remarkably moderate, in comparison with the expenses to which the British army, of less than one fourth the number, costs the country.

Physically speaking, the Austrian army consists of the most able bodied force in Europe.

In appearance, the infantry is the least imposing. The white coarse cloth of which their uniform is made, the cheapest that can be supplied, is quite as warm and as comfortable as the expensive splendid uniform of Prussia.

The standing army consists at present of, *First*, 58 regiments of infantry, of 2 battalions and 12 companies each, viz.: 7 Austrian, 9 Bohemian, 5 Moravian and Silesian, 3 Illyrian, with 8 Italian regiments, of 1892 men each; and of 15 Hungarian and Transylvanian regiments of 2616 men each; in all 120,596 infantry of the line.

Second, 20 grenadier battalions of 900 men, 1 regiment of chasseurs, 2320 men, 17 military frontier regiments, of which 7 are Hungarian, 6 Illyrians, 4 Transylvanian, and 4 garrison battalions, 49,501 men. In all, 196,377 foot-soldiers.

Third, 37 regiments of cavalry, 44,970 strong.

Fourth, 5 regiments of field-artillery, of 2763 men each, 1 corps of *bombardier* artificers, 1075, 14 garrisons of artillery, variously distributed in fortresses, in all 2490, and 500 artillery workmen: total artillery, 17,790.

Fifth, the engineer corps of 6 companies of

sappers, 2 battalions of engineers, 5 companies of miners, in all, 2800; of a battalion, 1067 of pontoniers, and a battalion of Tschaikistes (1200 charged with the gun-boats on the Danube and Save), and of the artillery and military train, 8000: total, engineer and artillery train, 13,067, and total effective standing force of the army, 272,204 men.

Besides these, there are, one Lombard regiment of *gendarmerie*, 640, 9 battalions of Condous, for the frontiers of Austria, Bohemia, Galicia, Silesia, and Moravia, 3200; the invalid corps, 10,800; the imperial body guard of noble archers, 4 officers, and 63 sub-officers; the imperial body guard of noble Hungarians, 58; the trabans, of 97 Vienna men, and 34 of Milan; the palace guards, 4 officers, and 218 men. Total extra, 15,118 men.

Total force maintained in peace, 288,322 men.

Augmentation in war, consists in an addition to the line, of 48,800 men; of Landwehr, 142,000; Hungarian insurrection force, 33,500; foot and horse reserve, 30,000: total augmentation 254,300 men.

Total war force, 527,000 strong.

This however, does not amount to half the

troops which might be readily raised, if money to clothe, arm, and feed them, were forthcoming. As to provender, there would be little difficulty. Arms, ammunition, waggons, and clothing, would alone, as heretofore, form the great *desiderata*.

The naval force consists of 8 ships of the line, 8 frigates, 4 corvettes, and 6 brigs, in all 34. To these are attached an artillery corps of marines, and an engineer corps, besides the requisite number of sailors. There is also a college for marine cadets. The gun-boats on the Danube and Save, carrying in all, about 130 pieces of cannon.

The spirit of enthusiasm in an army, or in the soldiers who compose it, is perhaps of more consequence in gaining battles, than either discipline or money. But unless it be the determined spirit of patriotic enthusiasm in defending our country, or redeeming our liberties, I must confess, that I am not anxious to see an army filled with any other impulse for the fight.

In one of the late numbers of the Edinburgh Review, it is stated with the severity of a political writer, but still with leading points of truth, which may apply also to other states, that

"Austria is poor in money and heroism, but she is rich in men! She never gives quarter, but she has no objection to receive it. With all this command of men, however, the miserable state of her finances, will not allow her to bring great armies at once into the field. While Louis XIV. had 400,000 men in arms, Austria could with difficulty embody 70,000. In 1756, she raised 100,000, to oppose the King of Prussia with 200,000. In 1792, she took the field with 170,000, against France with an army of 600,000.

"Among all the automata that allow themselves to be slaughtered for five pence per day, the Austrian soldier is the most deserving of compassion. The chastisement which awaits him for the slightest offence, is the most ignominious that can be inflicted; the reward of his toils and his bravery, the most miserable that can be given. The food, the pay, and the clothing of the Austrian, are inferior to those of any other soldier in Europe. Life, where men are at all trained to reflection, is not a thing to be bought for a sordid price. It may be gifted, but cannot be sold. To dispel these illusions of honour which animate the soldier, is to deprive the military profession of its only

redeeming quality. The Greeks and Romans fought for the name of their country; the French for Francis I.—for Henry IV.—for Napoleon—for France—for glory; the Turks for their religion. But the Austrian soldier fights neither for loyalty, nor religion, nor honour.

"Almost ignorant of his general's existence, the Austrian soldier can feel no enthusiastic attachment to him. Frequently these generals are strangers, such as Tilly, Montecuculli Eugene, Lascy, &c. The jealous policy of the court will not allow the generals to court popularity, or to appeal to the feelings of their followers. Twice only have the Austrian troops showed any thing like enthusiasm for their generals—for Prince Eugene and for Laudon. In this age, in which prodigies of valour have been effected by military eloquence, the Austrian government has allowed nothing but a brief proclamation at the opening of each campaign, commanding obedience, rather than rousing to effort. No triumphal arches—no annalist to record his exploits—no monuments to attest his victories, present themselves to the imagination of the Austrian soldier. Nor can his courage be much animated by the prospect

of a medal, which he must look upon rather as a badge of inferiority, than as an honour, since it is never worn by the officers; while the officers, in turn, can have no strong incentive to exertion in the hope of obtaining the cross of Maria Theresa, the requisites for which are too numerous and too difficult.

"Armies such as these make no rapid conquests, and give little employment to fame. But, in return, a force of this kind, being almost entirely *material* in its nature, is exempt from those alterations which disturb the action of moral power. The government, accordingly, calculates its strength numerically; and reckons not by souls, but bodies. With the armies which Austria has sacrificed to preserve the duchy of Milan and the Low Countries, and to recover Silesia, Charles XII. would have conquered the world."

Of all the dangers to which a state can render itself subservient, military enthusiasm is the most to be guarded against by a good government and by an upright nation. What has the British soldier to fight for more than the Austrian. True he is somewhat better paid, and far better flogged. Marlborough and Wellington have had palaces built for them, and monuments

erected to their honour. On what other monuments can the soldier gaze in England?

Whenever our country, or our justly defined rights are invaded, our people will furnish sufficient enthusiasm, and nothing would tend more to the perfection and moral improvement of an army, than to abrogate the sale of commissions, and to promote officers according to merit, as is the case in Prussia, which has the most intelligent army in Europe.

The common soldier in Austria has, it is true, nothing but his food and pay to urge him to perform the duties required of him. And as Austria keeps up her army to maintain peace at home, and to prevent foreign aggression, and not for conquest, she might well change the position of the private soldiers, so as to make them patriotically enthusiastic, first by a s cientific plan of instruction as in Prussia, and secondly by rewards and promotion for exemplary conduct.

The military enthusiasm of the French soldier is for rapid promotion, rapid conquest, and ruthless plunder. The whole standing army are *nauseated* with their Napoleon of peace, and the throne of Louis-Philippe would be four times as stable, if he had an army of only one-fourth of its present numerical force.

Promotion in the Austrian army among the officers is remarkably slow: but not confined as in England, first, almost entirely to purchase, and after a certain grade, to the turns of seniority.

LETTER XXVII.

PHYSICAL, MORAL, AND POLITICAL POWER OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE.

PHYSICALLY, with a population of more than thirty-five millions, inhabiting countries possessing the many eminent natural advantages which I have pointed out to you in my former letters, the Austrian empire may be considered the most powerful in Europe.

MORALLY, Austria is comparatively weak. This arises from the empire being composed of so many nations, holding or fancying themselves independent, except so far as sovereignty is in question of the central state, which is peculiarly German; while the population again consists of no more than 6,200,000 of Germans; and the remaining 28,800,000 of, 1st.

Sclavonians, consisting of Hungarian, Dalmatian, Illyrian, Croatian, and Carinthian Sclavonians, 5,500,000; Galician and other Poles, 4,450,000; Bohemian, Moravian, Silesian, and Sclavonian, 5,850,000, in all 15,800,000 Sclavonians; 2d, of Hungarian Maygars, 5,300,000; 3d. Italians, 4,800,000; 4th, Wallachians, 1,900,000; 5th, Jews, 510,000; 6th, *Zigeuner*, or Gipsies, 115,000; 7th, Greeks, Clementines, Turks, &c., 425,000.

The difficulty of governing and inspiring a general national feeling throughout the empire, arises from the want of adhesion in the moral constitution of a population speaking different languages, and educated or reared with their respective associations, feelings, and ideas.

Political power is, again, rendered *weak* by the want of solidity in the moral *cohesion*. The wisdom and ability of the supreme government has, therefore, to direct a most difficult management,—to reconcile the physical, moral, and political elements for the maintenance of domestic tranquillity, and of peace with foreign nations.

Prussia is governed by an intelligent despotism, managed in all the details of its administration by the talent which a well-educated

nation can supply. The security against the danger of the power it wields being balanced by the responsibility which the king *morally* holds at the head of fifteen millions of people, well instructed in useful learning, and in a more sombre religion, which trains the mind more to thinking. This security, which a vicious or foolish monarch may abuse, is, however, far less dangerous than having a representative legislature, like that of France (and of England formerly), elected so that the king may always carry his own measures by the votes of the chambers, and thus free himself and his ministers of both legal and moral responsibility together.

Austria is governed by a *patriarchal despotism*, seldom abusing its power, except when its authority is disputed.

I have, in my former letters, given you a sufficient account for a general idea of the relations of Hungary with the empire. Bohemia, the Tyrol, Galicia, and the Italian states, require the most careful, but I would always say the most kind consideration of the supreme government.

The continuation of peace for some years

longer, and the maternal relations which exist between Bohemia and the archduchy of Austria, will, finally, cement the former to the latter so intimately, that the amalgamation of both may be realized without much dissatisfaction. The Tyrol may also be brought, with moderately paternal consideration, to form a part of Austria proper; and to the whole, Moravia, I believe, on the north, and Illyria on the south, may be also added to the archduchy, under the united administration of the same general government.

As to Galicia, nothing but the most liberal treatment will sooth the Polish nationality into confident alliance with Austrian government. Let the people of Galicia but fully enjoy the blessings of a good administration, and the less enviable condition of their brethren in the duchy of Warsaw, will make them fully appreciate the paternal rule of Austria.

Italy presents numerous difficulties; but I am persuaded they might be all so effectually overcome as to render severity altogether unnecessary; and unless all the people of Italy, from the Alps to Sicily, were under one liberal constitutional government, I am persuaded,

that, if discontent were but removed, and the freedom of commerce extended, Lombardo-Venetia might, under Austria, be rendered at least as prosperous and happy as beneath the sway and government of any other power.

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Note A, *page* 8.

SALT-MINES.

The salt-mines of Hallein chiefly supply Upper Austria, the Tyrol, and Western Bohemia, with salt. Those of Galicia, Hungary, and Transylvania, the remaining parts of the empire. This most necessary article of consumption, from being a government monopoly, is sold in the *privileged shops* in quantities, either in the refined or rock state, with much the same previous care as refined sugar in England.

C, *for which read* B, *page* 115.

The imperial museum of the national productions of fabrics, afford at once to the traveller who visits Vienna an opportunity of judging of the natural and agricultural produce, and the progress which manufactures have made in, the several states of the Austrian dominions.

D, *for which read* C, *page* 325.

STEAM NAVIGATION OF THE DANUBE.

Active preparations are now making for navigating this river from Ulm to Vienna, and in two or three months it will be easily practicable to cross Europe from London to Constantinople, first, by steam to Mayence, thence by land to Ulm or Ratisbon, and thence by the Danube and Black Sea to Constantinople. From the latter the steam-boats lately established will convey passengers by Smyrna or Alexandria back, touching at various ports, to Marseilles. Several steam-boats now ply in the Adriatic.

THE END.

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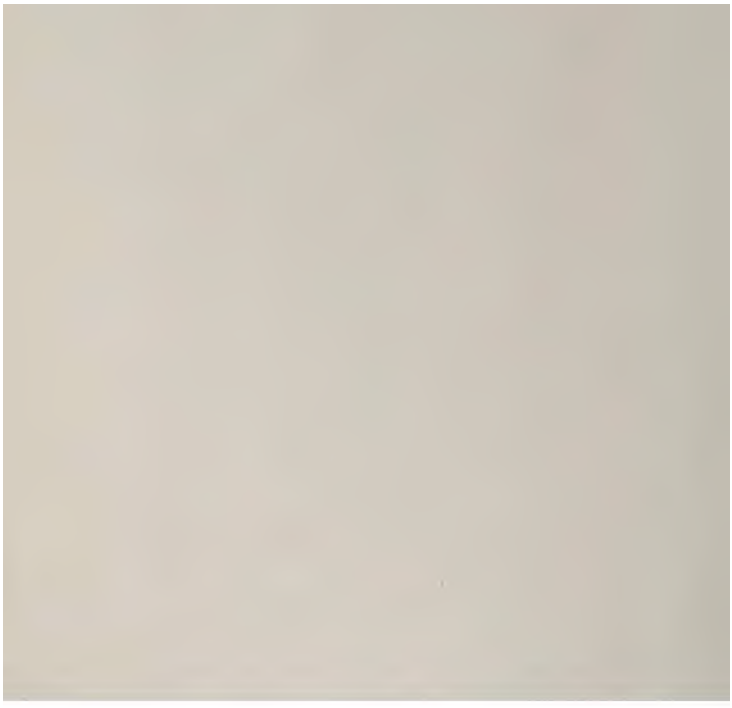
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